

TWENTY-FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society

BY ITS BOARD OF MANAGERS,

JANUARY 26, 1853.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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M. E.

REPORT.

ANOTHER year full of warning and of instruction has passed away into the domain of History. A very slight glance at the events which swept along in its train is all that we can afford them. So completely has the progress of the Anti-Slavery Movement incorporated its own History with that of this country, that the Annals of the one have become almost identical with those of the other. In every public Act, in every line of policy, in every election to office, in whatever furnishes materials or illustration of History, Slavery is to be discerned openly or secretly originating, guiding, controlling, commanding. Of this necessary predominance, inevitable as long as Slavery and the present Constitution of our National Government endure, the past year affords as convincing, if not as terrible, examples as any that went before it. The recapitulation of its occurrences, having a special relation to Slavery, which you require your Board of Managers to give you in addition to that of their performance of the specific work you have appointed them to do, must of necessity still be brief and imperfect. But we proceed, confident of your indulgent consideration of defects inseparable from the task required and the limits within which it must needs be confined.

CONGRESS.

The opening session of the Thirty-Second Congress could not be expected to vie with the robust villany of its infamous predecessor. Another such a brood of monsters as the Compromises could hardly be hoped for so soon again. All that this Congress can be reasonably asked to do is to watch tenderly over the prodigious progeny of its

predecessor and see that they receive no detriment from fanatic hands. This conservative work it has done, and well done. To be sure, it could not emulate the example of that memorable Body and forbid a word of disparagement or of discussion to visit too roughly the face of the Fugitive Slave Law and the other Compromise Measures. But it did what it could. It laid on the table all petitions for the Repeal or Modification of those Measures, or otherwise summarily disposed of them. But it did not venture peremptorily to shut up the mouths of members, as did the last Congress, — to make a desert and then call it Peace. Eloquent words of denunciation, of counsel, of rebuke, were uttered in both House and Senate, and reached to the farthest corners of the land.

Mr. GIDDINGS honorably maintained the post he has so justly won and well defended, as chief Champion in those lists against the hosts of Slavery. Early in the session he availed himself of the opportunity offered by the presentation of certain Resolutions of the Legislature of New Jersey in favor of the Compromises, and eloquently set forth the Aggressions of the Slave Power and the servile submission of the North, in a Speech of great force and pungency. This called down upon him a storm of Pro-Slavery abuse and personal insult from Mr. STANLEY, of North Carolina, which he stoutly and skillfully turned against his indecent assailant. At a later period, in the debate on the Deficiency Bill, Mr. GIDDINGS spoke again with a boldness and distinctness which could not be misunderstood. He said, truly, “the escape of SHADRACH, the just and holy manifestation of the popular mind at Syracuse, the merited death of GORSUCH at Christiana, should teach the advocates of the Fugitive Law, and of the Compromises, that the Higher Law of our natures, dictated by God and imprinted upon the hearts of a Christian people, will eventually set these barbarous enactments at defiance. * * Thousands of agencies are now at work preparing the minds of the Southern Slaves for the work that lies before them; a work which, if not accomplished by the voice of Truth and Justice, will be perfected in blood. * * The remarks I am now making will reach the ears of many thousands now borne down by oppression. To them I say, ‘*All men are created equal*’; — *you are endowed by your Creator with an inalienable right to Liberty*; and I add the words of one of Virginia’s noblest sons, *GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH!*”

When such words as these can be uttered in the ears of the whole people, bond as well as free, it does seem as if the passage of the

Compromises of 1850 had not quite silenced the Agitation of the Slavery question. On the twenty-third of June, Mr. GIDDINGS again made a masterly Speech in which he defied the majority to silence him, or to stop Agitation in the House or the Nation against Slavery. He showed the philosophical necessity of Agitation in the spirit, and almost in the words, of the Anti-Slavery Societies. He mocked at the failure of the Fugitive Slave Law and at the disgrace and discomfiture which had overtaken its chief supporters. "What, Sir," he exclaimed, "are the descendants of the Pilgrims, of those who bled at Bunker's Hill, and on every battle-field of the Revolution, rather than pay a paltry tax on tea and stamped paper, supinely to become tributary to Southern taskmasters! No, Sir, by all the hallowed associations which cluster around the memory of English and American patriots, I avow and declare that *I would sooner see every Slaveholder in the nation hanged* than witness the subjugation of Northern freemen to such a humiliating condition!" This is, certainly, plain and bold language,—plainer and bolder than has ever been spoken in Congress. And, yet, in this very Speech, Mr. GIDDINGS exposes the weakness of the position of the Free Soil members by this statement of it.

"We, Sir, (meaning himself and his political friends,) would drive the Slave question from discussion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with Slavery; let the Federal power wash its hands of that institution; let us purify ourselves from its contagion—leave it with the States, who alone have power to sustain it; then, Sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing to do with it, our time will no more be occupied with it, and, like a band of freemen, a band of brothers, we could meet here, legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race."

A band of *freemen*! A band of *brothers*! Legislating for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, and the elevation of our race! Can Mr. GIDDINGS regard those petty despois as *freemen*,—those miscreants whose coward knives have at his throat as his *brethren*? Does he believe they care aught for improvement of mankind or the elevation of the race? Is this sober earnest, or does it savor of political cant? Mr. GIDDINGS must know that any such separation of the Government from Slavery is a political impossibility. It would, certainly, be a great calamity. It must be outside of the present Constitution that the Capitol is to be built, in which freemen and brothers

may meet for world-wide legislation. The chief use of the present is as the theatre of Anti-Slavery Agitation. Mr. GIDDINGS's worthiest occupation would be gone should such a misfortune befall us. Such a speech as this is worth more than all the improvement and elevation that fraternizing Free Soilers and Slavedrivers could devise for the human race.

MR. RANTOUL.

During the earlier part of the session the country was amused, if not edified, by a passage at arms between the Hon. GEORGE T. DAVIS and the Hon. ROBERT RANTOUL. Mr. DAVIS had seen fit to make an attack upon the Coalition in Massachusetts, to which Mr. RANTOUL replied, illustrating the inconsistency of Mr. DAVIS's position by his former Anti-Slavery professions and actions. In his Reply, Mr. DAVIS could not deny the Anti-Slavery sins of his youth, he having been for several years a Vice-President of that Society; but he deplored them so feelingly and expressed so sincere a contrition that it must have been enough to win him the pardon of the sturdiest Slaveholder. Mr. RANTOUL's demolition of him was complete, and even the Whig Party did not venture to put him in nomination again for the next Congress. It was an example of even greater humiliation than the favorers of the Fugitive Slave Law themselves thought expedient.

Mr. RANTOUL, not long afterwards, made a Speech of surpassing ability on the Fugitive Slave Law. He cleared away the clouds of sophistry which the combined impudence and ingenuity of its defenders had gathered about it. He showed, with great legal acumen and learning, that it was utterly unconstitutional, on purely constitutional grounds. That the clause for the Rendition of Slaves was a Compact or Treaty between the States, and not a Concession of a power to Congress. That its execution was left with the States, themselves, in their sovereign capacity, and not deputed to the General Government. It was a masterly exposition of State Rights, under the Federal Constitution. He did not deny that Slaves were to be returned; but affirmed that the process was to be provided by every State, so that each might see to it that no freeman suffered wrong. This is as far, we apprehend, as any man owing allegiance to the United States Constitution can go, as we may show more at large elsewhere. But the Speech was made with a heartiness and freedom of spirit

which gave it the ring of true metal. That its earnestness was recognized by the friends of the Law was shown by his exclusion from the Baltimore Democratic Convention by an arbitrary act of tyranny unprecedented even in such a body. And that it was acknowledged by those that hated it was proved by the unanimous sorrow which was felt by all such throughout the country, at his sudden and untimely death.

MR. SUMNER.

In our last Report we gave an account of the long and exciting contest in the Massachusetts Legislature, which resulted in the election of Mr. CHARLES SUMNER to the Senate of the United States. That contest was watched in all parts of the country with the deepest interest, and its result produced exultation or wrath, according to the favor or disfavor with which the ideas represented by Mr. SUMNER were regarded by different men. His course, consequently, after taking his seat, was earnestly watched both by friends and foes, the one hoping to find their warmest prophecies more than fulfilled, and the other awaiting the development which he was to make of his strategic character in that field of fight. Perhaps no new member of Congress was ever regarded with such curious eyes, from various motives, as Mr. SUMNER. As the session wore away, and nearly eight months had elapsed without the demonstration being made in an Anti-Slavery direction which had been hoped or feared, men began to marvel in their minds and to draw inferences, according to their light and disposition, as to whereunto his silence was to grow.

At last, July 27th, Mr. SUMNER rose and addressed the Senate to this effect : —

“ Mr. President — I have a resolution which I desire to offer ; and I wish, also, to give notice that I shall expect to call it up at as early a day as possible, during the morning hour, when I shall throw myself upon the indulgence of the Senate to be heard upon it.”

The resolution was then read as follows : —

“ *Resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be requested to consider the expediency of reporting a bill for the immediate repeal of the Act of Congress, approved September 18, 1850, usually known as the Fugitive Slave Act.”

Mr. MASON, of Virginia, at once objected to its reception, both on the general ground of its being "a question which all agree involves the continuance of the Union, and on account of the press of business at the close of the session which was rapidly approaching." The resolution lay over to the next day under the rules. Mr. SUMNER then moved to take it up, explained the reason of his delay to have been his unwillingness to have "rashly, recklessly, hastily, pushed this question before the country, and claiming the privilege, or rather the right, to be heard both on account of his own convictions of duty, and of those of large numbers of his constituents. If Mr. SUMNER really hoped that courtesy, or even right that could be withheld, would be extended to any man proposing to make an Anti-Slavery Speech, he was very soon made conscious of his error. Not a Senator came to his assistance, except Mr. SHIELDS, of Illinois, who only endeavored to get him a hearing, pledging himself in advance that he would not be convinced by it. Every other speaker regarded the integrity of the Union as involved in this question, and refused to consent that it should be reopened, or considered the unfinished business of paramount importance. The Senate finally refused to take it up by a vote of ten yeas to thirty-two nays.

The time, however, which Mr. SUMNER had so long bided, came at last. On the 26th of August, the following Amendment was moved by the Committee on Finance to the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill : —

"That where the ministerial officers of the United States have or shall incur extraordinary expenses in executing the laws thereof, the payment of which is not specifically provided for, the President of the United States is authorized to allow the payment thereof, under the special taxation of the District or Circuit Court of the district in which the said services have been or shall be rendered, to be paid from the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the judiciary."

Mr. SUMNER moved the following amendment to the amendment : —

"*Provided*, That no such allowance shall be authorized for any expenses incurred in executing the Fugitive Act of September 18, 1850, for the surrender of Fugitives from service or labor; which said Act is hereby repealed."

Upon this amendment, Mr. SUMNER made his long-expected Speech. That Speech has entered into almost every household in the Free

States, and has overleaped the barriers which would shut out every word tainted with the breath of Freedom from the ears of the dwellers in the Slave States themselves. It is even yet doing its perfect work. The question now is what that work is and how perfect it may be. Its work must be good to the extent that its plan goes. It cannot be that a rhetorical performance of the eminent merit of this Speech, informed as it is with a genuine hatred of Slavery, and setting in array against it the countless multitude of its crimes and of its insolences, it cannot be that such a production should not widely and deeply influence the minds of great multitudes of men. Such a spirit cannot move over the face of the deep of a Nation's mind, and leave it void and formless as before. Mr. SUMNER has helped to sweep away whole webs of sophistries which the devilish malignity of profligate politicians had spun around the infernal work of their hands, and has shown it as it really is. He has assisted, most ably, in putting to flight whole troops of Shams and Delusions, so cunning of device that it seemed as if they might deceive, to the extent they claimed, the very elect.

Mr. SUMNER's Speech, together with Mr. RANTOUL's, Mr. MANN's, and the other able utterances which have illustrated this Congress, has supplied even the humblest hater of the Slave Act with a reason for the faith that is in him. The necessity of the passage of some such Act by Congress, and the duty of obeying it until it is repealed, are both equally blown to the winds. The unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Act has been demonstrated as clearly as any legal or moral problem can be. The Constitution has been cleared of this "damned spot" which those who would make it the base tool of their ambitious lusts have striven to make cleave to its skirts. The great masses of the people, who are still in bondage to the parchment, and who think that all its legitimate issues must be of divine effect, have been shown that the Constitution is as innocent as the sheep on whose skin it is engrossed, of the particular wickedness that sought shelter under its shadow. This is good. This is well. But how far is it from striking at the root of the evil tree. It is only shifting the iniquity, and the responsibility for it, from one set of men's shoulders to another. It is only carrying the Little Hunchback from the Jew doctor's door to the Christian merchant's. The ghastly lump of deformity is the same; it is only set down in another street. The Slaves, and the American Anti-Slavery Society as their next friend, do not complain merely that a man who has succeeded in repossessing himself of his own body and soul, should be thrust down again into hell by the arm of the General

Government. They aver that it is a crime of the most horrid dye, let it be done by whom it may. It is the blow aimed at the life's life of the Slave that we protest against — not the hand, merely, that deals it.

Mr. SUMNER treats with fine scorn the new-fangled vocabulary of Pro-Slavery, by which Slavery is made National and Liberty Sectional. But we do not think he has made out his case, to the full extent of his claim. The framers of the Constitution, undoubtedly, did not foresee how Slavery was destined to overshadow the whole land, and would be at a loss to understand the language of the special Sons of Liberty of this day; but they did recognise and protect property in Slaves to the extent of forbidding any State to make laws for the security and freedom of escaping Slaves, and for their rendition on claim, to say nothing of the prohibition of the Abolition of the Slave Trade for twenty years, a clause under which it may be revived at any time. It seems to us a distinction without a difference to say that property in man is not recognised by the Constitution as much as the right of the citizen of one State to enjoy all the rights of Citizenship in every other State. The right of the master to his Slave is as much a National right as the right of Mr. HOAR to go to Charleston, South Carolina, to commence an action at law, to try a question of personal freedom. All that the Constitution says, or implies, in either case, is, that the States shall make *no* laws infringing upon these rights, and *shall* make all laws necessary to secure them. The Constitution is utterly set at naught by South Carolina when its clause for securing the rights of Northern men interferes with Slavery. Will the time never come when Massachusetts will do as much in behalf of Liberty? We hope that it will come, and that speedily; but when it does come, its coming will sweep over the ruins of the Constitution — ruins from which a fairer edifice than our Fathers knew how to build, shall arise.

Mr. SUMNER says, "for myself, I know no better aim, under the Constitution, than to bring the Government back to the precise position on this question which it occupied on the auspicious morning of its first organization under WASHINGTON; that the sentiments of the Fathers may again prevail with our rulers, and that the National Flag may nowhere shelter Slavery." Well, perhaps, there is no "better aim, *under the Constitution*," that a public man can take. But what an aim it is! An aim directed just as *point-blank* at the heart of the Slave as the Fugitive Slave Act itself, only made with a different weapon and from a different stand. For what was the position of the Fathers on the thirteenth of April, 1789, when WASHINGTON swore to

maintain the Constitution of the United States? Mr. SUMNER does not deny, as we understand him, that there was "*a Compact*" between the States then united into a Nation, that Fugitive Slaves should be restored to their owners. Well, that was a Compact meant to be observed, we apprehend, and not to be broken. The States, for certain accruing advantages, agreed with one another to do certain specific things, one of which was that "persons owing service and labor, &c., shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service and labor may be due." The only question, we conceive, between Mr. RANTOUL and Mr. SUMNER, and Commissioners CURTIS and INGRAHAM, is, as to who shall provide the process for this restoration. These latter oracles maintaining (on the authority of the Supreme Court in the PRIGG case) that this power is Constitutionally vested in Congress, while the former gentlemen most impregnably establish the position that it was an article of Compact to be executed in the States themselves.

But, either by Nation or State, this clause is to be made operative. Does Mr. SUMNER deny this? We think not. We consider that the Free States stand towards the Slave States as to the matter of the rendition of Slaves, as the United States do towards England as to the extradition of criminals. The Fugitive Slave Law is as gross an insult to the Free States as would be an Act of Parliament providing process for the arrest and recovery of felons in the United States; and the attempts at its execution are as outrageous assaults on their rights as would be an attempt to seize Kaine or MEAGHER (supposing, in the last case, treason to have been included among the crimes enumerated in the Treaty) by a British force. But still, the process necessary for the due execution of the Treaty on the one hand, and of the Compact on the other, must be provided by the competent authorities. Felons are to be returned to England and Slaves to Georgia. Supposing it were unanimously granted that this was an Article of Compact, and that Legislation on the part of the States was necessary to carry it into effect, is not such necessary Legislation to be had? Does not good faith demand it? Would Mr. SUMNER have this clause defeated by the inaction or the treacherous action of the Legislatures of the Free States? If he would, how does he reconcile his opinion with his obligation to support the Constitution? And how, in such case, could he blame the Slaveholding States for seceding on the ground that the Compact was broken?

But we suppose Mr. SUMNER and the Free Soil party generally,

admit that the Constitution *does* require the rendition of *Slaves*. What they are reduced, in the last analysis, to contend for, is, that such a process shall be provided as shall secure any *freeman* from being taken as a Slave. Now, this does not satisfy us, for it is very far from satisfying our clients, the Slaves. We objected to the rendition of THOMAS SIMS not because he *was not* a SLAVE, but because he *was* A MAN! Let Mr. SUMNER draw up the law of Massachusetts that is to carry out this Compact; let him hedge round the man claimed with every bulwark of common law; let him be tried before the full Bench of the Supreme Court, by a Special Jury; let counsel be furnished and his witnesses be paid by the State; let every possible impediment be interposed between the Slavehunter and his prey; and if, after all, the jury is compelled by the force of evidence to find that the defendant is a Slave, is he not to go back to his master? We do not see how Mr. SUMNER can help answering *yes*! But we say No!! A thousand times, NO!!! Perish the Union, perish the Constitution, first!

We were, from the beginning, well satisfied that it was Mr. SUMNER's determination to do his duty in this matter, and were content to let him take his own time, and his own way, for doing it, though it might not be our way. We are still satisfied that our way would have been the best, and are more than ever satisfied that his delay was a mistake in judgment. But he had as perfect a right to form and carry out his own plan as we have to criticise it. Criticism is the essence of Anti-Slavery. It is "nothing if not critical." The Abolitionists sit in judgment upon Slavery, its abettors, and its assailants, and the ordeal to which they have subjected Mr. SUMNER is no more than Mr. ADAMS, Mr. GIDDINGS, Mr. MANN, Mr. ALLEN, Mr. HALE, and every Anti-Slavery member of Congress has had to pass through, as well as the CALHOUNS, CLAYS, and WEBSTERS. We are censorious, if you please; but it is with the censoring eyes of an intelligent Slave looking on what is done for or against him. We have to judge of the state of facts as they appear before us when they occur, and we do affirm, that no men in the world are more candid and dispassionate in their judgment, or more ready to rectify an error when they discover it. And with reason good. For we have no self ends to answer, and it is neither our object nor our wish to injure the influence or the character of any man willing to help the Slave in any degree. But our whole strength and efficiency lies in the plainness and fidelity of our speech towards friends and foes.

It is of small consequence to Mr. SUMNER or the world what our ideas as to his best course are ; but, still, we are disposed to favor both the one and the other with them. We apprehend that Mr. SUMNER's plan was to secure his position among his fellow-senators so as to leave them, as gentlemen as well as public men, without excuse if they refused to hear him. He wished to show that he was not a man of One Idea, and, by assiduous attention to public business and a careful observance of all public and private courtesies, to secure a hearing on this particular matter. We think that this was a mistaken policy. They would, very possibly, have been willing to compound for a quiet session of eight months by consenting to a speech against the Fugitive Law at the end of it, if they could have done it without damaging themselves. But the *animus* that informed them is evident from the *yeas* and *nays* on his first motion for leave to bring in. Nothing but the palpable and notorious opportunity which the Friends of the Law themselves gave him, or some equally unmistakeable case of right, we believe, would have sufficed to get him a hearing. That such a body of unscrupulous politicians as the majority of the Senate would have regarded any of the claims of courtesy or decency on an occasion which would give rise to a Pro-Slavery clamor, we regard as a political and moral impossibility. We think, therefore, that nothing was gained in this direction by the delay, while very much was lost. Mr. SUMNER, of course, differs from us in this opinion, and it was his judgment and not ours that he was to take for his guide. But we "who sit by the fire will talk of what's done in the Capitol." It is our prerogative and one which we do not mean to lose by our own *laches*.

The only advantage that we can imagine, at this stage of time, in having a Free Soil or Anti-Slavery man in either branch of Congress, consists in the amount of Agitation he can create there, and by that means throughout the country. Any actual and immediate change in the public policy no one expects could be accomplished, though all the orators of "Athens and free Rome" should rise from the dead to urge it. Such a change of policy is only to be achieved by a change of heart and mind in the people themselves, and the means of grace appointed for such conversion consist in importunate and untiring Agitation. It was by the use of such means that Mr. SUMNER and his small band of Free Soil companions have been placed in Congress. It is by the continued use of such that fresh laborers are to be sent into that field, and the harvest to be hastened. Now, it is our belief that if Mr. SUMNER had asked leave to bring in his bill for the Repeal

of the Abominable Bill within a fortnight after taking his seat, and had continued to carry on a running fight, throughout the entire session, with the ability he has to make it effective, he would have put the general mind in a better and more forward state of preparation than he has now done, for making that unmistakeable demand to which alone politicians listen.

It is very possible, indeed, that he might have aroused such a spirit of hostility in the Senate that effectual means would have been devised to prevent his making his Speech on that floor. But this, we conceive, would have been of very inferior importance to the continual reminder of the public mind, compelled by repeated attempts and reiterated protests against the tyranny that gagged him, of the paramount despotism which would enter into the most secret chambers of imagery and strangle thought and feeling, if it could, to make its own tyranny the more secure. For it will be remembered, that the despotic power of Congress has not, as yet, laid hold of the press. The Senate could have shut their own ears to his words, but they could not have silenced the ten thousand trumpet-tongues of the press. Mr. SUMNER's Speech is having a wide circulation, perhaps the widest any Speech ever had in this country; but we strongly incline to the belief that its diffusion would have been even greater than it is had it been announced as the Speech which the Senate would not suffer him to make. Especially had it come immediately after such a session of Agitation as JOHN QUINCY ADAMS knew how to keep alive in the other House. It seems to us that the actual delivery of a Speech, however admirable, in the ears of four or five hundred people, more or less, is very subordinate in importance to the stirring up of twenty millions for eight consecutive months.

MR. MANN AND OTHERS.

In the interval between Mr. SUMNER's abortive attempt and his successful effort, on the seventeenth of August, the Hon. HORACE MANN made perhaps the most effective and telling Anti-Slavery Speech that was ever made in Congress. For fiery eloquence, keen sarcasm, iron-linked logic, clearness of statement and high moral tone, it has certainly never been surpassed in the Halls of Congress. Great numbers of this Speech, as well as of Mr. SUMNER's, were scattered over the land and thus helped to convert Congress to the only useful purpose to

which it can be put. Earlier in the session a very excellent Speech was made by Mr. TOWNSHEND, of Ohio, an Englishman by birth and one who did not leave his hereditary hatred of Slavery behind him when he emigrated to America. At no former session of Congress were there so many and so thorough Anti-Slavery Speeches made. A fact which shows that the factious attempt of the previous Congress to silence discussion has not yet been recognised as the higher law of the land. During the present session of the Thirty-Second Congress the question of Slavery has been touched upon only incidentally and perfunctorily. But an unprecedented stretch of Slaveholding audacity has excluded every Free Soil Senator from the Senate Committees, on the avowed ground that they stand "outside of any healthy political organization!" To this insult we regret to say no adequate protest nor even any natural expression of indignation has been opposed. Mr. HALE met it with a jest.

But though the Thirty-Second Congress has not been able to better the bad doings of its predecessors or even to maintain the servile silence which that tyrannical body effected, during its last session, still it was not for the lack of the best of dispositions. This was shown by the Resolutions proposed in both Houses, which reaffirmed the Compromises, pronounced them final, and condemned all Agitation of them in any form or place. A more brazen impudence than this could hardly be imagined. Who invested them, the creatures of an hour, (or, at most, of two years, — but a second in a nation's lifetime,) with power to fix the policy of the nation for all eternity? Who gave them unlimited control over all future legislation? To be sure, the assumption is a political absurdity. It can be of no binding force on any future Congress, or itself, if it should change its mind. But it is none the less an impudent assumption, and an insult to the Nation, had the Nation any spirit left in its heart. It is equivalent to the things made saying to those that made them, what we approve you must abide by, forever. We are not your servants, but your masters. We have the power to bind and to loose, and we hold the keys of the political heaven and hell. And who are these men? Are they Presidents for life, Emperors, Dictators, invested with absolute power for an indefinite period? They are mere temporary servants, not acknowledged masters. They are appointed to do certain things. They are hired for a specific purpose. They may do a vast deal of mischief in the discharge of their regular functions. But, thank heaven, they cannot make their mischief perdurable. They may make Compromises and pass Fugitive

Laws ; but they have no power to eternize them. The gift of immortality is not theirs to bestow. They are but the shadow which the people cast. As the substance changes its form, the shadow must change its shape. As well might the shadow, which a man casts upon the wall as he walks in the sun, resolve itself to be a finality and a perpetual entity. As the man changes his posture, the shadow changes its shape ; and, as he finally passes on, it flits after him and disappears.

But, still, though Congress be but a shadow, it most philosophically, as well as politically, argues a substance which projects it. The action of Congress denotes a foregone conclusion. It shows that the lackeys knew the minds of the masters who had sent them up to Washington on this errand. They would not have dared to do and say what they have if they had not had their masters with them. The insolence of their action, and the danger of it, too, lies in the attempt of an ephemeral body, like Congress, undertaking to establish permanent Constitutions of Government for the people. And the most threatening danger of all is, when the people consent that it shall be so. When the masters, instead of stripping their liveries over their ears and turning their evil servants out of doors by the shoulders, consent to the claim they make to lord it over the heritage they have inherited from their fathers. The assumption of petty politicians in Washington to have settled forever the questions with which Slavery had to do and to clap a padlock on lips in and out of Congress, would be simply ridiculous and absurd, were it not for the reception which these pretensions met with at home. One would suppose, to listen to the Slavecatching speeches at Castle Garden and in Faneuil Hall, and to the Slavecatching sermons of the DEWEYS, SPRINGS, BARRETTs, TYNGs, and their tribe, that the drunken Congress that insulted God and the human race with those atrocities, were a select Convention of all the wisdom of the whole country to establish a new, or to reform an old, form of Government ! Their action was not to be disturbed, forsooth ! Agitation should cease, indeed ! What institutions, in this country, are not liable to disturbance, and that lawfully, we should like to know ? Have we not a right to propose the establishment of a decent Monarchy, if we please, instead of the dirty Oligarchy that now lords it over us ? And may it not be accomplished, strictly according to the forms of law ? Much more, who is to hinder the change or repeal of any mere acts of legislation ? And how is any change or any improvement to be wrought out, save by Agitation ?

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

The Country has just passed through one of those quadrennial fermentations to which its body politic is constitutionally subject. The Chief End of Man in America has been again accomplished, and another President has been made. The whole process of the manufacture, with all its antecedents and consequences, has only taught over again the lessons of many former Elections. It has again justified the Abolitionists as the truest of prophets. They ground their conclusions on fixed laws of human nature, and prophecy from the fullness of a foregone experience. There is nothing marvellous in our divination. It is nothing more marvellous than is that daily miracle which causes us to see what is before our eyes when we open them. The difference between the Abolitionist and his neighbors is not so much in the superior sharpness of his natural sight, as it is in the circumstance that it is natural; that he looks through no distorting or exaggerating medium; that his "visual nerve" has been "purged with euphrasy and rue," and sees things and men as they really are. His advantage is that of a man of ordinary acquaintance with a mixed game of chance and skill, who looks over the shoulders of the players, without interest in the stake, in judging of the chances of the various competitors. What event in our history for the last twenty years have they not predicted? The designs on Texas were discerned and put on record, when the whole country, North and South, were unanimous in disclaiming them. The inevitable necessity of the Mexican war, and its necessary issues, were beheld and proclaimed afar off. Even as they did not fear to prophecy that Slavery would alight upon New Mexico and Utah, in spite of "the laws of physical geography and of Asiatic scenery," and as they even now see its vulture eye gorging itself with the near and certain prey of Cuba. And even though their vaticinations seemed to be disappointed in the rescue of California from its gripe by the extraordinary infusion of New England blood into its body politic, it seems that we are like to have half our prediction, at least, fulfilled, by the division of the State for Slaveholding purposes. The child is to be hewn asunder so that the harlot may have her half — if she be denied the whole — of what had never belonged to her at all.

The fact is, we have a clue which is sure to disentangle for us the mazes of our political labyrinth. Wherever we may lay hold of one end of it, however far it may seem to be from any such connection, we

are sure to find Slavery at the other. This is the key to all our mysteries, the solution of all apparant enigmas, the explanation of all puzzles, however problematical. A black thread has run through the whole tissue of our history ; or, rather, a black ground-work underlies the whole and gives foundation and consistence to the whole fabric. It has been ever so ; but it has not been always seen to be so. At times, as when Louisiana was purchased and erected into a State, and when Missouri entered the Sisterhood with her dowry of Slaves, an instinctive feeling seemed to pervade the torpid North as to the power and designs of Slavery. But it was not until the Abolitionists organized themselves into a corps of observation, and, without hoping or fearing anything from the predominant power of the land, set itself to the work of watching and exposing the arts and machinations of the Slaveholders, that they were reduced to an exact Science, which every one may understand, if he will. The Abolitionists have not created the political element of Slavery — though one might think so, to hear some politicians talk. They have only explained and demonstrated it. Every President, from WASHINGTON, inclusive, who has had his two terms, has been so because of his holding of Slaves, and the two ADAMSSES were successively cut short in mid career, because they lacked the support of this element of power. It was not seen so distinctly then, as now ; but it was the Slaveholding influence that predominated in all those elections, and which, when a Northern man, by mischance, obtained the Chair, gave itself neither sleep to its eyes nor slumber to its eyelids until it had toppled him down.

As must needs be the case while we live under our present Constitution of Government, the operations of the whole four years, since Gen. TAYLOR'S Election, were directed, with reference to the next Term. The Whigs sought to maintain the supremacy which they enjoyed by the grace of MARTIN VAN BUREN, by imitating the examples of subserviency to the will of the Slave Power which the Democrats had so often set before them, and which had been so often rewarded with the gift of Power. The Democrats, of course, were laying the plans of their campaign so as to secure to them restoration to that dominion which they had lost in a manner so singular and unexpected. As their end was the same, the prominent candidates of both parties resorted to the same means. And what was the instinctive action of every one of them ? To assure the Slave Power of his fidelity to it, and of the security with which it could repose its interests in his hands. This was always necessary ; but it was done tacitly and was taken for

granted before the Abolitionists made a public Confession of Faith essential to political salvation. General CASS was instant in season and out of season in making his Calling and Election sure. Mr. FILLMORE had only to point to his signature of the Fugitive Slave Bill, as Manius to the Capitol, to give grateful assurance of his self-devotion to his country. General BUTLER performed his act of homage, so as to be seen and known of all men, as his sufficient qualification for a Democratic Nomination. General SCOTT, himself, though under the tutelage of wiser men than himself, could not be held back until the accepted time from intimating his readiness to throw his sword as the Conqueror of Mexico into the trembling scale of Whig possibilities. While Mr. WEBSTER made a very mountebank of himself and carried his wares to almost every market, making incessant proclamation that he was the only authentic inventor of the patent medicine that was to save the Union. So with all, BUCHANAN, MARCY, DICKINSON, WOOL, whoever thought that, by accident or design, the choice of the Conventions might fall upon them, made haste to make friends with the Mammon of Slaveholding Unrighteousness.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

First in order of time was held the Democratic Convention. It assembled at Baltimore early in June, and for two or three days a long succession of unsuccessful ballottings followed one another. General CASS and Mr. BUCHANAN were the most prominent candidates for the first forty-eight ballots, — though for a few of the last Governor MARCY divided the contest for the second place, in some measure, with Mr. BUCHANAN. MESSRS. DOUGLASS, BUTLER, HOUSTON, LANE, and DODGE were the other unsuccessful aspirants. It was not until the thirty-fifth balloting that General PIERCE appeared in the lists. From that time he gradually gained strength till he reached fifty-five votes on the forty-eighth ballot, from which he jumped at once to two hundred and eighty-two votes and was then nominated by acclamation. WILLIAM R. KING, of Alabama, was then nominated for the Vice-Presidency. As soon as the Presidential Nomination was known, by telegraph, at Washington, poor General CASS and Mr. DOUGLASS, whose hopes were probably the best grounded and most sanguine of any of the candidates, hastened to send on with the same lightning speed, their submission to the *fiat* of the party. Like Turkish Pachas, they placed their

own death-warrant on their heads and blessed it, although it doomed them to fall the next moment.

A great struggle had been made to establish the Platform of the Party before the Nomination was made. But this was voted down, for the purpose of providing a way whereby the Barn-burning heresy might return, without too flagrant inconsistency, back into the bosom of the true Democratic Church. As soon as the business was over, however, the Platform was reported and adopted by a very large vote. It was affirmed, indeed, by the unfriends of the Compromises, that it was proposed and passed in the hurry and confusion attending the breaking up of the Convention, and that it was heard and voted upon by a very small number of delegates. From these circumstances, and the fact that the Platform was not erected until after the Nominations had been made, the New York Evening Post and other Barnburner authorities, maintained that it was binding neither upon the candidates nor the party, and accepted and supported the one without regard to the other. The material part of this Platform is contained in the three following Resolutions : —

9. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution ; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of Slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences ; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

Resolved, That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of Slavery agitation in Congress ; and therefore the Democratic Party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress — the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included — which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

Resolved, That the Democratic Party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempts may be made.

Whatever *salvo* to their consciences the VAN BUREN section of the

Democrats may have found in the way in which the Platform was erected, General PIERCE had no difficulties in his mind concerning it. He had no scruple about mounting it, nor did his most virulent opponents during the Canvass ever question that it was his appropriate place. We know very little of General PIERCE, and nothing that is very bad. We take him to be a second-rate New Hampshire lawyer. But this is no argument against his making a very sufficient President of the United States. Little, however, as we know about him, it is quite as much as the great majority of those that voted for him. We suppose had the inhabitants of the United States been polled on the day he was nominated, nine-tenths of them would be obliged to acknowledge that they had never heard of him. But as to the main qualification of making a clean sweep of all the Whig office-holders and rewarding his friends with the spoils of his victory, he may be relied upon. His name will be as good at the bottom of a commission as that of WASHINGTON himself. The Democrats mean to come into power, and one counter will serve as well to mark their success as another. The South nominated him, the North accepted him. CASS, BUCHANAN, and DOUGLASS all hail his name as the best in the world, after their own.

But there was poetical justice attending this selection which could not but be gratifying to all who love to see it. That the Compromises must be made a part of the Platform we knew before it was built. That General PIERCE will do as much to maintain it as General CASS or any other man could do, we verily believe. But, then, none of the men who fastened it upon the country, and who built their hopes of the Presidency upon their services in that direction, have got the nomination. Nor even any of the men who made haste to identify themselves with it, or who have publicly touched it in any way. Just before the Convention, a certain ROBERT G. SCOTT, of Virginia, took it upon himself to write to all the persons ever mentioned as possible candidates at Baltimore, interrogating them as to their fidelity to Slavery. Every one of them, as soon as they received the *firman* of their master, fell upon his knees, put his mouth in the dust, without putting his hand over it, and ate dirt in a way that might astonish a Bushman. All except General PIERCE, and *he* is the man that got the nomination! Now we do not doubt his entire readiness to eat any quantity of that necessary aliment of Northern ambition; but we think he had discretion enough to see that a masterly inactivity was his true policy. It was perfectly understood that the Compromise was to be endorsed

and made part of the Platform ; but, then, by way of sop to the enemies of the Compromise, real and politic, no man was to be nominated who had ever touched it, even with the nib of his pen ! It was a lesson, could they ever learn, which might teach Northern aspirants wisdom that might be profitable to direct them.

THE WHIG CONVENTION.

Soon after the Democrats had made their nomination, the Whig Convention was held, also in Baltimore. Here the Whigs endeavored to go beyond the Democrats in their readiness to swear allegiance to Slavery. Their Platform was adopted before the balloting began. This was constructed by a Southern Caucus the night before the meeting, and was adopted by a large majority, though there were sixty-six votes recorded against it. Of this minority not one belonged to the Massachusetts Delegation, though there were two members of it who adhered firmly to General SCOTT, of whose friends it was chiefly, if not entirely, composed. The Eighth Resolution contains the latest Confession of Faith of what called itself four years ago (at least at the North,) the true Anti-Slavery party :

8th. That the series of resolutions known as the Compromise, including the Fugitive Slave Law, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a settlement in principle and substance — a final settlement — of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embrace ; and so far as the Fugitive Slave Law is concerned, we will maintain the same, and insist on its strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of future legislation against evasion or abuse, but not impairing its present efficiency ; and we deprecate all future agitation of the Slavery question as dangerous to our peace ; and we will discountenance all efforts at the renewal or continuance of such agitation, in Congress or out of it, whenever, wherever, or however the attempts may be made, and will maintain this system of measures as a policy essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union.

This preliminary having been arranged the balloting began. During a session of five days the main contest was between the friends of Mr. FILLMORE and of General SCOTT, whose votes averaged in fifty ballotings, one hundred and thirty-three and one hundred and thirty-four respectively. Mr. WEBSTER, whose friends were insanely sanguine of his success, never reached more than thirty-two votes at any time, and

only averaged twenty-nine. The reliance of the WEBSTER faction was upon the Slaveholding delegates, who went almost in a body for Mr. FILLMORE, and who it was hoped would finally change their votes in Mr. WEBSTER's favor, in consideration of his humiliations and his services. But it was a broken reed on which they leant.

On the fifty-third balloting enough of the supporters of Mr. FILLMORE changed their votes to secure the nomination of General SCOTT. Not a single Slaveholding vote was vouchsafed to the Champion of the Compromises! This result, which gave very general satisfaction to the Party at large, General SCOTT being obviously the only candidate that had the shadow of a chance, was received with blank dismay or loud imprecations by the men who had done and sacrificed so much for the elevation of Mr. WEBSTER. It was an instance of the punishment of perfidy and meanness such as is seldom beheld. The position of those parasites and sycophants was truly humiliating and mortifying. It is no wonder they were filled with wrath and shame.

There they were — the Retainers, the Signers of WEBSTER Letters, the Getters-up of Union Meetings, the men whose apprentices formed the SIMS Brigade, the "Fifteen Hundred Scoundrels," as WENDELL PHILLIPS fitly styled them, who volunteered their aid to Marshal DEVENS to help him carry poor SIMS from the chained Court House to PEARSON'S Slave Ship — there they were, disappointed, disgraced, scorned, spit upon, their hopes a delusion and they themselves the laughing stock and derision of the whole country! These Boston men had risked their all upon a single stake, and that stake the elevation of another man, and they lost it all. Not even the miserable satisfaction of a chance of being beaten was vouchsafed to them. They had denied everything that they had bragged of in former times. They devoured their former words by scores and by hundreds; they made the lowest and most disgraceful prostrations to the Slave Power that had ever been made, and had done the dirtiest work that had ever been demanded of human hands, and all they asked of their Southern masters was the poor boon of the nomination of the man they owned, and they were refused so much as a single vote for him! A fit ending for what was begun on the Seventh of March, 1850! DANIEL WEBSTER then offered himself in market-overt to the South. He had diligently done their work and humbly bowed himself before them ever since, and in return he got not a vote beyond the Potomac! And but six out of New England!

Never was wickedness more signally punished — never were the in-

struments of Divine Justice more fitly chosen. All conversant with the Anti-Slavery cause know that what is now History has been prophesied by the Abolitionists ever since that gigantic Treason was committed. We always told the world that the Slaveholders would never trust DANIEL WEBSTER. They might use him, (and they *have*, gladly,) but they would never let him use them. The snare he laid for them was set too openly in the eyes of such crafty fowl as they. The dough-face FILLMORE was material better adapted to the manipulation of their plastic hands, than the cast-iron villany of WEBSTER. A bitter aggravation of his mortification, too, to have one whom he must so cordially despise preferred to him by those for whose favor he had sacrificed everything! In Ambition as in Love it is no slight embitterment to see a meaner rival carry away the prize.

“But whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
Through her perverseness; but shall see her gained
By a far worse!”

He might have kept his soul and his honor, and have had quite as many votes in the Convention, after all! He need not have invented the enormous Lie of the Danger to the Union. He need not have debauched the souls of his party in the City to which he owes so much (in more senses than one) and to the extent of his ability throughout the Free States. It was of no avail that he crushed the life out of religion and ground morality to powder, making Doctors of Divinity teach for doctrine that the Law of Congress is paramount to the Law of God, and that the catching of negroes is the chief end for which man was created, and for which Christ died.

It is no unholy triumph that swells one's heart in view of such an event as this defeat of DANIEL WEBSTER. It is the joyful accepting of the truth that Congress is not Omnipotent to dethrone the God of Heaven and Earth, and that He still maketh the wrath of man to praise Him. Great Villanies are sometimes permitted to prosper. We often see Wickedness exalted to the High Places and flourishing like a green bay tree. Nay, we see little else in this accursed country. But when there is a signal defeat to an overweening and unprincipled Ambition — when intellectual powers equal to the mightiest enterprises stoop to the lowest and the worst — when talents and influence which might have led the hosts of freedom on to victory against the armies of the aliens are surrendered for personal ends and put to the most infamous uses, and when those ends are defeated, and he sent away disap-

pointed and disgraced, it is an occasion of the purest rejoicing, of the holiest triumph. When a man sells himself to the Devil, it is well to see that he does not get his pay! And those who thought it glory enough to follow their leader into any measure of infamy, it is good to see them, too, joined with him in his disgrace and disappointment. And of both these satisfactions the day of this Convention has been the witness. Be it long remembered as one full of warning to traitors and to such as put their trust in them.

THE FREE SOIL CONVENTION.

The Free Soil Party met at Pittsburgh on the eleventh of August and nominated JOHN P. HALE, of New Hampshire, for President, and GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana, for Vice President. The Convention was numerously attended and very enthusiastic in its spirit. The following were the most characteristic of the Resolutions which constituted its Platform. Of the fallacy contained in the Resolution first quoted, that the Slavery Question can be only settled by separating the General Government from Slavery, and leaving it and the matter of the rendition of Slaves to the States in their Sovereign capacity, we have already spoken at length. We again protest against this doctrine as a political impossibility to be achieved, and as a moral iniquity if it could be brought about. The other three resolutions are unexceptionably excellent:—

8. That no permanent settlement of the Slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth, that Slavery is sectional, and Freedom national, by the total separation of the General Government from Slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of Freedom, by leaving to the States the whole subject of Slavery, and the extradition of fugitives from service.

14. That Slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against Man, the enormity of which no law nor usage can sanction or mitigate, and that Christianity and Humanity alike demand its abolition.

15. That the Fugitive Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the Common Law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world: we therefore deny its binding force upon the American people, and demand its immediate and total repeal.

16. That the doctrine that any human law is a finality, and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the

founders of our Government, and is dangerous to the liberties of our people.

The candidates being thus in the field, the campaign proceeded in good earnest. The usual demonstrations and efforts were made on either side. The VAN BUREN, or Barnburner, section of the Free Soil Party, having accomplished the end of that Alliance in the final and utter defeat of General CASS, acquiesced gladly in the nomination of General PIERCE. This was all that was necessary to secure his election. In this State the friends of Mr. WEBSTER made a vain and ridiculous attempt to revenge themselves and him on the SCOTT Whigs, by running him on a split ticket. This movement, begun by men eminent only for their insignificance, was at length taken up by men of more consequence in the party, — especially by Mr. GEORGE T. CURTIS, better known as the SIMS Commissioner. Mr. WEBSTER's tacit acquiescence in this treacherous movement, left a yet deeper brand of perfidy upon his character. It showed him to be as destitute of personal gratitude and party fidelity as he had proved himself to be of consistent love of freedom and of humanity. It ridiculously failed. For Massachusetts, the only State in which there was a WEBSTER organization of any pretensions, was one of the four that gave their vote to General SCOTT on the day when all the rest, by an overwhelming majority, raised General PIERCE to the Presidency of the United States.

DEATHS OF HENRY CLAY AND DANIEL WEBSTER.

The past year has been marked by the death of two men whose position, influence, and abilities gave them unlimited opportunity for good, all of which they perverted to almost unqualified evil. HENRY CLAY died, an impenitent Slaveholder, on the twenty-ninth of June, after a long illness. He was hardened in his Pro-Slavery wickedness to the last. Though he showed sufficient respect for the inevitable opinion of posterity to provide for the distant and contingent emancipation of his own Slaves, he was firm and sagacious to the end in his schemes for strengthening and perpetuating the Slave System. To him, in chief, belongs the glory, or the shame, of the Compromises. To him Slavery owed the support of a name and character the most influential, perhaps, of any of his contemporaries, among the educated and wealthy classes. His personal influence was, probably, greater than that of

any public man of his day. He might have given the tide of thought of the country a direction which might have swept away Slavery, or have weakened its foundations to its fall, had he so willed. In his youth he had revelations of the truth, and of the glory which would crown the successful Emancipator. But as he grew older he saw more clearly the necessity of the political supremacy of Slavery. He aspired to power and to the headship of the Nation. To acquire these, he became the ready servant of the tyrant power of the land. And he was rewarded with everlasting disappointment. All his long life of prosperity was darkened by failure after failure of his dearest hopes. He served well, and bore the burden and heat of the day; but when the hour of reward arrived he was sent away empty. He died baffled and disappointed, an instructive warning to men of great abilities, that it is in vain for them to hope to win, by any services or any humiliations, the favor and the rewards of the cowardly and treacherous oligarchy which rules over us. Such men it dreads and chooses for its servants creatures whom it cannot for a moment fear that they can become its masters.

On the twenty-fourth of October, DANIEL WEBSTER died at Marshfield, after an illness, the extent of which was sedulously concealed from the public by his partizans, in the hope of using his name to the detriment of General Scott. His death, occurring just at that moment, when the great Democratic Party all regarded him as their best ally, when the noisiest of the Whig demagogues were his partizans, and when all the Scott wing of the party were too glad that he was removed out of their way not to be happy to affect a sorrow they could not feel, was met with the most extravagant and absurd demonstrations of grief. Thousands of persons flocked to his burial, and mock funerals were held in his honor in almost every considerable City in the Union. The Abolitionists of the type of this Society were almost the only men who did not affect, at least, to bewail his death. In the midst of the fulsome panegyric with which the air was loaded, breathed forth by Whigs, Democrats, and even Free Soilers, there was a remnant left that did not fear to depict the Dead as he must appear to an impartial posterity. It is due to the Abolitionists and to the Slaves that it be known that they have no incense to burn before his shrine,—that Death has worked no change in their opinion of his acts and their detestation of his character, while living.

It is perhaps a natural feeling which shrinks from uttering, in the sternest language, one's sense of the evil deeds of the newly dead.

Even Murder loses some of its horror in the ghastly presence of the strangled assassin. But Death, while it may soften for a moment the feelings which Justice extorts towards the criminal, can work no change in his guilt, or in the permanent character of his actions. Death but sets his seal upon both, and delivers them over to the unprejudiced verdict of after times. Nothing can be more weak or absurd than the trite apothegm, "*Nil de mortuis nisi bonum!*" Truth and Justice are the due of the Dead and of the Living. Flattery is as misplaced in treating of the Dead as Detraction. "*Suum Cuique*" is a better rule of action — "to every man his due!" And the common sense of the world accepts this as just, or History would be a mere collection of lying Epitaphs.

We certainly have no praise for Mr. WEBSTER. But that is of the less consequence, as almost every meeting-house reeked with the most nauseous adulation on the day of his death — as every Court sadly responded to the lamentations of every Bar — as every organic Body, from the Cabinet at Washington to the Board of Brokers in State Street, joined in one sympathizing wail — as every newspaper wrapped itself in the sable garb of woe — as every flag drooped at half-mast, and as these demonstrations were but the first drops that ran before the inundation of Eulogy which came afterwards. But we have no disposition to employ bitter words, however fit, to describe his character and his public life. The simple juxtaposition of his words at Springfield, in 1848, and those at Washington on the Seventh of March, 1850, would make all severity of language as unnecessary as it would be tame and weak. The gloomy terseness of Tacitus, or the glowing exuberance of Gibbon, could give no darker coloring to that portrait drawn by his own hand. We are content to let posterity judge of him from that picture furnished by himself, seen in the light of the circumstances of the last years of his life. While we have no regret to express for Mr. WEBSTER's death, we certainly feel no exultation in view of it. If God have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, much less should man. Had we any personal hostility towards him, we might lament his dying just at that time, — for it was, surely, most fortunately timed for him. But we regard the event as one of the slightest possible importance, for good or for evil. Mr. WEBSTER had passed the time appointed for man on earth, and his political career would have ended on the Fourth of next March, if he had been permitted to hold his office till then. The Slaveholders, whom he had ruined his fame to conciliate, had shown the esteem they held him in at the Balti-

mere Convention, and the bitter diatribe of Mr. MANGUM, of North Carolina, just before Congress adjourned, was but a foretaste of what they had in store for him, for his treachery to the candidate of his party. His desertion of the Whig party, while he was enjoying the *premiership* under it, had necessarily forfeited their respect and confidence, and left him nothing to fall back upon but a paltry handful of sycophants and parasites, equally destitute of political weight and personal influence. His strength for good or for evil expired before his breath.

Indeed, his political influence was never great. Even his speech of the Seventh of March, though fatal to his fame, was immaterial to the result. The Compromise bills would have passed in his despite, if not with his assistance. The Slaveholders really owed him no return for his service that day, for it made no difference in the issue. They were willing, of course, to have his aid, and, doubtless, were profuse of promises and flatteries to secure it; but, substantially, it was of no consequence to them. They were sure of their game before they cajoled him into playing into their hands. So, as to the effect that speech had in developing the atheous character of the Chief Priests and Levites, of the Doctors of Divinity and Church members, of the Northern Church, it did not make the STUARTS and DEWEYS and SHARPS, the SPRINGS, the SPENCERS, and the LORDS, the moral monsters that they boasted themselves to be. It merely gave them the occasion to show themselves as they really were. It was Slavery that had been moulding their characters for years, through the necessity it imposed of reconciling its existence and its necessary enormities with the Christian Religion.

Indeed, it is curious to consider how inconsequential the forty years of Mr. WEBSTER's public life have been. His professional career has been brilliant, and has produced results of vast profits and just reputation. But his parliamentary success has fallen far short of what his forensic triumphs had promised. First at the Bar, he was never more than third or fourth in the Senate. It is the cant of the hyperbolic adulation of the day to call him the "Great Statesman," the "Illustrious Statesman," &c.; but we think it would be hard to point out an instance of his statesmanship. Where is the scheme of public policy that he originated and carried through? The hand of JACKSON and of CLAY and of CALHOUN are to be seen in the web of American history for the last forty years; but where is the golden thread that WEBSTER has woven into the tissue? He has never led, but always followed.

And, which seems to us fatal to the claim made for him of the character of a Great Statesman, even where he has followed, he has *failed* ! He began his public life as an Advocate for Free Trade. He failed of success, and Protection was forced upon the country by Mr. CLAY and the South. He then became the Champion of American Industry, and his labors have resulted in the Tariff of 1846. He was, successively, a strenuous enemy and friend of the United States Bank, and yet lived long enough to pronounce that, too, "an obsolete idea." Even in the crowning act of his life, he did but follow his leaders. *He* did not invent or propose the Compromise Measures. The Fugitive Slave Law was no "thunder" of his. Mr. CLAY gave the key-note of that speech, as he had of so many others, of Mr. WEBSTER. It was a service more than he expected, but he condescended to throw his follower a morsel of praise for it, — but when it came to the serious dispensation of rewards, Mr. CLAY gave the vote of the South, not to Mr. WEBSTER but to Mr. FILLMORE. The genius of Mr. WEBSTER ever stood rebuked before that of Mr. CLAY. He felt the chain, and it galled him ; but though he winced under it, he wore it, reluctantly and sullenly sometimes, to be sure, to the end.

Then Mr. WEBSTER's Diplomacy with Great Britain is cited as a proof of his Statesmanship. He saved us, forsooth, from a War with England ! Perhaps he did, in the sense in which a man, when put in the dilemma of "your money or your life," saves his life by giving up his money. A war with England was morally and politically impossible, under the circumstances. Neither nation wanted war, but America would have sacrificed all in dispute to avoid it. As long as we live under the pacific dominion of the Southern Patriarchs, we are absolutely safe from any War for *Free* territory ! Mr. WEBSTER's diplomatic skill consisted in giving to England all she had the face to ask for. Had he refused to concede whatever was necessary to satisfy her, even to the half of Maine and the whole of Oregon, had he suffered the smallest cloud of War to gather on our horizon, he would have been hurled into a political annihilation from which he would have arisen no more. Mr. WEBSTER has nowhere impressed himself upon American History. He has made no mark. The country owes nothing, good or bad, to him ; and it is not on such men, however loud may be the plaudits of their contemporaries, that History bestows the meed of fame.

Mr. WEBSTER adds another to the list of victims to Slaveholding ingratitude. It was no evidence of his State-craft, that he ever hoped

better things from the quarter toward which he looked than he got. He was the bound victim of Slavery for his whole forty years, though the sacrifice was delayed till he was three score and ten; for he was hampered and checked and held down by the links of the chain that sorceress weaves round politicians from the beginning to the end. He sometimes struggled in it, but he never had strength to break it. He lacked the vision which a true Statesman would have had, that the time had come when Resistance to Slavery was possible and hopeful—the only possible and hopeful career for a Northern man. Had he placed himself at the head of the Northern Movement against Slavery, he would undoubtedly have been a candidate for the Presidency, the hero of an animated and honorable conflict. But he chose to be the Tool of the South rather than the Leader of the North. The South used the Tool, and threw it contemptuously away. Disappointed, mortified, ashamed, heartbroken, he turned his face to the wall and died. It was the only thing left for him to do.

He died. The magnificent failure of his life was over. He died as he had lived, the victim of the Slave Power. Thwarted by that mighty influence in all his schemes of ambition, cramped and controlled by it in the best days of his public life, cajoled by its lying promise into the act which will make his name historically infamous, with characteristic falsehood, it broke that promise to the ear as well as to the hope, and, with it, broke his heart. Perhaps Poetical Justice would have been better answered had he lived to see another man exulting in the eminence which had been the dream and aspiration of his life. His punishment might have seemed more complete and perfect had that added drop of gall been mingled with his cup of bitterness. But Moral Justice is satisfied. A new and conspicuous example is afforded of the truth that Nemesis never sleeps, but sooner or later overtakes and chastises the guilty. The interval interposed between his Crime and the Penalty, indeed, was not long. Punishment limped not, but flew in pursuit of him. And the scourge with which she chastised, the shaft with which she slew him, were furnished by the very men to purchase whose smile he had incurred his retribution. The long disease which terminated in his death began on the twenty-first day of June last past. The blow from which he never recovered was dealt him then, and by hands from which he had hoped only for the helping he had purchased. He deserved his fate, but, O! not from *them!* Their ingratitude poisoned the iron which on that day entered into his soul. The bitterness of disappointment was doubled by the

shame of having been duped. He sold his soul to the Devil of Slavery, and was cheated out of the price. Be such forever the fate of Northern men that put their trust in Slavedrivers !

MASSACHUSETTS.

The action of the Coalition Legislature in this State again disappointed the hopes of those who had expected from the infusion of Free Soilism into its veins, a return to a more healthy condition of the body politic. To be sure, the Free Soilers were but a lean minority, when set in array against the other two parties, who generally united against any demonstration in the direction of Freedom. But the result has proved that whatever advantages may have accrued to the Commonwealth from the union of Anti-Slavery with Pro-Slavery politicians for the two last years, they are not to be discerned in any Anti-Slavery shape. Resolutions were introduced into the House of Representatives of an Anti-Slavery character, but they soon came to an untimely end. An excellent Bill for the Security of Personal Liberty, which was draughted and reported by the Hon. SAMUEL E. SEWALL, and which passed the Senate by a good majority, shared the same fate at the hands of the Lower House. An attempt to relieve the Colored Men of the State from the opprobrium cast upon them by their exclusion from the Militia on account of their complexion, was also defeated.

This being all the action of an Anti-Slavery character which was attempted in the Legislature, and having thus failed of success, the defeat of the Coalition and the return to power of the Whigs, at the last election, cannot be regarded as a serious calamity to the Anti-Slavery Cause. The defeat of the Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS and of the Hon. HENRY WILSON as candidates for the next Congress were more appreciable misfortunes. Mr. ADAMS's political sagacity, experience, ability, and courage, as well as his historical antecedents, eminently fitted him to succeed Mr. MANN in the seat formerly illustrated by his father. His defeat was a disappointment to all who regard the House of Representatives as only well employed when converted into an Anti-Slavery Debating Society. And the disappointment was the greater from the fact that if as many voters had recorded their votes for those gentlemen as had voted for Mr. HALE for President, (a demonstration perfectly empty of results) they would have been chosen. The only two members of that type who have

been chosen are Messrs. BANKS and DE WITT, the former a Coalition Democrat and the latter a Free Soiler. They will have much to do to make good the places of ROBERT RANTOUL and HORACE MANN.

In June, the trial of Mr. ELIZUR WRIGHT, for assisting at the Rescue of SHADRACH, took place before Mr. Justice CURTIS. It was affirmed and believed that the District Attorney received instructions from the Secretary of State to have this trial take place during the week preceeding the Whig Convention, — hoping that he might enter it with a Conviction of a Rescuer in his hand as a Certificate of character. Unluckily for him, if this were true, the Jury were unable to agree. Mr. WRIGHT defended himself, and was treated by Judge CURTIS with great courtesy during the trial, but his charge was of a most crushing description. And it nearly succeeded in procuring a conviction. But at the second trial, in November, Mr. WRIGHT was found not guilty, — a verdict, it is believed, entirely justified by the facts of the case. Whether the other trials will be pressed, or whether, the Presidential Election being now past, it will be thought worth while to push this particular line of patriotism, remains to be seen. We hope that we have seen the last of them.

THE NORTH. PENNSYLVANIA.

In Pennsylvania, the Bill which had passed the Legislature to repeal the section of the Anti-Kidnapping Law, analogous to our Latimer Law, by which the State Officers were forbidden to assist at the recapture of Fugitive Slaves, and the use of the State Gaols refused to the Slavehunter for the safe-keeping of his prey, was met by the Veto of Governor JOHNSTON. This was his last official act and was accompanied by a clear and conclusive exposition of his reasons, chiefly Constitutional, for refusing to sign the Bill. His successor, Governor BIGLER, sought to signalize his accession to office by an opposite line of conduct, and he recommended to the Legislature in his Inaugural Address, the Repeal of the essential part of that Bill. All that Pennsylvania patriotism, thus instigated, could be induced to do was to repeal the section making the use of the Gaols a penal offence. The rest of the Law still stands as it did before, and though we much regret that even this concession should have been made to the re-awakened Pro-Slavery spirit, we may rejoice that the whole mischief contemplated was not accomplished. A most infamous bill for the Prohi-

bition of the Emigration of Free Negroes into the State, excited so strong an indignation that it was suffered to drop in the Committee to which it was referred.

Governor BIGLER succeeded, however, in making his zeal for the injured South conspicuous by the pardon of the infamous kidnapper, ALBERTI, whose case we have related in our last Report. And a Bill is now depending for reënacting the law by which Slaveholders were permitted to hold their human property in Pennsylvania for a certain limited time. It is to be hoped that this attempt to reëstablish Slavery in that State will be met with defeat and execration. The trial of the Rev. SAMUEL WILLIAMS, which was proceeding when we last addressed you, for giving the notice to the Slave of GORSUCH, which led to the Battle of Christiana, terminated in his triumphant acquittal. This was the end of the prosecutions arising out of that affair. An ending most gratifying to all lovers of liberty and of just laws ! It is observable, and not unedifying, to note that Judge GRIER, in spite of his leaning towards the side of the Slaveholders, and notwithstanding his courtesies to the Maryland Attorney General, who had been sent on to make assurance doubly sure, was severely censured by the Governor of that State for not having distorted the laws of the United States so as to secure the conviction of the prisoners ! Such is Slaveholding gratitude for Pro-Slavery service !

In our last Report we gave some account of the kidnapping of RACHEL PARKER and of the murder of JOSEPH C. MILLER. This last atrocity has gone unpunished. But we are happy to say that the girl, after a long confinement in gaol, her claimant refusing bail though tendered any amount, has been pronounced free. And of this happy release her sister, ELIZABETH PARKER, who had been previously kidnapped and recovered from New Orleans whither she had been carried, was a partaker. Counsel were furnished by the State of Pennsylvania, which should have this act of protection towards its most helpless members honorably mentioned, witnesses in great numbers, and at great expense and personal inconvenience, repaired to Baltimore to testify to the facts proving their free condition. The case was so clear that a Baltimore jury could not refuse to find them free women and they were freed from the horrors and dangers that impended over them. We believe no steps have been taken for the punishment of the wretches that created all this misery for their sordid gains. But it is a satisfaction to think that the murder of poor MILLER was not rewarded with the success his assassins hoped from it.

NEW YORK.

In New York, the Democrats have marked their return to power by a proposition, like that entertained in Pennsylvania, for reëstablishing Slavery under certain conditions. The result of this Legislative step backward towards barbarism is not yet decided. The cause of this outburst of patriotism was a case of singular interest which occurred last November. One JONATHAN LEMMON having occasion to emigrate to Texas, proceeded thither by the way of New York, taking with him, like a patriarch of old, his men-servants and his maid-servants, on the supposition that he was free to ship his goods from any port in the country. But, luckily for him as it turned out, an embargo was clapped upon it and it was stopped *in transitu* by a Habeas Corpus. The question was solemnly argued before Mr. Justice PAINE, of the Supreme Court of the State, and, after deliberate consideration, he pronounced them to be free by the operation of the laws of Nature and of Nations. Great sympathy was felt for the unfortunate LEMMON and a sum exceeding his own valuation of his property was subscribed for his relief, Judge PAINE, himself, contributing towards this humane and patriotic fund. Still, however, great indignation at this outrage on Southern Rights was expressed by a portion of the Southern press, and by the Governor of Virginia in an official communication. The City of New York again trembled for its trade and was willing to add the transshipment of Slaves to its other branches of Commerce. Hence the indemnity to LEMMON, and hence the attempt, which we trust will prove abortive, to make New York once more a Slave State and the City an *entrepôt* for human merchandise. The decision of Judge PAINE, however, is valuable as a vindication of natural rights and as an example and encouragement to wavering judges.

The trials of the Rescuers of JERRY, at Syracuse, have not yet been completed. An attempt was made last winter, when the cases first came up for trial, to quash the indictments on the ground of irregularities on the part of the prosecuting officers and of the apparent packing of the Grand Jury. This motion was argued at great length and with great ability by Messrs. SEDGWICK and MORGAN, for the defendants. The District Judge, CONKLIN, however, declined the responsibility and remitted the jurisdiction of the case to the Circuit Judge. The result of these trials, thus long delayed, will be recorded in our next Report. During the Summer, the Deputy Marshal who had

arrested JERRY was tried for this offence, Mr. GERRIT SMITH acting for the prosecution. It is nothing surprising that he should have been acquitted. Any other result would have brought the State and United States Authorities into a collision more desirable than likely to be brought about.

THE SOUTH. CAROLINA AND ENGLAND.

The controversy between the Empire of South Carolina and that of Great Britain, as to the right claimed by the former to imprison, and in default of payment of gaol fees, to sell into Slavery, the subjects of the latter, is not yet brought to a conclusion. The matter which had been brought, diplomatically, by Mr. MATHEW, the British Consul, to the notice of the Governor, and by him referred to the Legislature, was by that body laid upon the table. Mr. Consul MATHEW, nothing daunted, addressed another well reasoned letter to His Excellency remonstrating against this violation of the Laws of Nations and of the rights of friendly nations. He further proceeded to petition for a Habeas Corpus, in behalf of a British seaman thus evilly entreated, so as to bring this matter to a judicial decision. His application was refused by Judge WITHERS, to whom it was first made, in accordance with a Statute to that effect passed in 1844; and an appeal taken to the Superior Court of the State, with the design of finally carrying the case before the Supreme Court of the United States, if the Courts of South Carolina refused relief. This matter was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. MONCKTON MILNES, last Summer, who interrogated the Government as to the facts. Lord STANLEY stated them substantially as given above, and, though he seemed to treat the subject in a spirit of great consideration towards South Carolina, he pronounced these laws "a disgrace and scandal to civilization." It is not unlikely that she will yield so much of her sovereignty as to exempt from the operation of these laws, the seamen of foreign Powers; reserving the full force of her might for the regulation of American citizens. A modification of these port laws has been made in Louisiana, and, we believe, in Alabama; but we are not now informed of its extent or degree.

TEXAS.

The State of Texas has proceeded to apply its Slave Laws to free citizens of Massachusetts in a manner we believe quite without precedent even in the judicial history of the Slave States. Four colored men were arrested, early in the year, at Galveston, for concealing a fugitive Slave on board the brig Billow, of Boston, with intention of aiding him in his escape. Being detected, they were tried and convicted, chiefly on the evidence of the Slave they had so generously assisted, and condemned to pay a fine equal to his value, or in default thereof, to be sold as Slaves! This was, accordingly, carried into effect, and these free citizens of this State are now plunged into hopeless bondage, for this humane and honorable action. And no just and adequate feeling of indignation was excited by the outrage. It seemed to be submitted to as a matter of course. So deadening to the natural sympathies and to the sense of national self-respect, is a long submission to tyranny and complicity with it. The subject was brought before the Legislature and the Governor was authorised to take measures for their relief at the expense of the State. What the result has been we are unable to state. We apprehend there has been none at all.

CALIFORNIA.

The new State of California has taken action which proves conclusively that its prohibition of Slavery, by its Constitution, was the result rather of shrewd calculation, than of exalted love of liberty. A number of Slaves having been introduced into the country, while it was a Territory, and when the South fully intended that it should be a Slave State, the question arose what was to become of this property after the Constitution was adopted. Of course, by all rules of law and common sense, they were all freed by the mere operation of the fundamental law. But this did not satisfy the Slaveholding Californians. They were determined to have a Compromise of their own. Accordingly, in February, a Bill was brought into the House of Representatives of the State, providing process and imposing obligations on officials, for the capture and rendition of any fugitive Slaves, — essentially a reënactment of that part of the Fugitive Slave Act. Then followed the essential part in the following section.

SEC. 4. Any person or persons held to labor or service in any State or Territory of the United States, by the laws of such State or Territory, and who were brought within the limits of the State, previous to the admission of this State as one of the United States of America, and who shall refuse to return to the State or Territory, where he or they owed such labor or service, upon the demand of the person or persons, his or their agent or attorney to whom such service or labor was due, such person or persons so refusing to return, shall be held and deemed fugitives from labor within the meaning of this Act, and all the remedies, rights, and provisions herein given to claimants of fugitives who escape from any other State into this State, are hereby given, and conferred upon claimants of fugitives from labor within the meaning of this section.

We are happy to say that this execrable Act for reducing men once free by law to Slavery again did not pass without resistance. It was resisted resolutely in both Houses, but especially in the Senate, where it was very near being defeated. But the Slaveholding, or Southern, members were, as usual, more than a match for their Northern antagonists. This only advantage they obtained, that the Bill was so qualified as to make it expire on the first of May, 1853, and to provide that no master should hold any Slave in the State, for any other purpose than that of removing him from it. With these amendments, it passed the Senate, after a fierce and protracted session, and the House concurring in them, it became the law of the land. A piece of legislation which showed the youngest of the States to be no whit behind the oldest of them, or than the Glorious Union itself, in unblushing defiance of right and justice.

MISSOURI AND KENTUCKY.

In Missouri, the St. Louis Circuit Court have established an important precedent, which over-rides many decisions in the Slave States themselves. A Slave, who had been taken by his master to Illinois, sued the administratrix for his freedom, on this ground. On the first trial, the jury, in accordance with the ruling of the Court, found a verdict for the Slave. But, on the case being carried up on a Writ of Error, the decision was reversed, on the ground that the condition of servitude re-attached upon the Slave's returning within the jurisdiction of Missouri. This is in contradiction to the views of law laid down and acted upon in other Slave States, especially in Louisiana, and adds

another to the many proofs of the fallacy of the assertion that the Slave is sure of impartial justice at the hands of Southern judges.

In Kentucky, the rapid colonization of Canada, by the Slaves, with their own consent, has attracted most serious and anxious attention. Especially in the border counties have the proprietors of this peculiar species of property been roused to special efforts to restrain its tendency to escape. A meeting of the Slaveholders of Mason and Bracken Counties was summoned by the urgency of this evil, and organized themselves into an Association for pursuing and recovering fugitives, offering liberal rewards to citizens of Free States who will assist them in this pious work. The facts, which this meeting brought to light, were of a most encouraging and gratifying nature. They furnish confirmation of the most unequivocal nature, of the intelligence we receive from Abolitionists of the constant Exodus that is proceeding from the Land of Bondage to the Canadian Canaan. We think it will be more than Slavecatching Associations can do to quench the thirst of freedom in the negro's breast, or to extinguish the warm and effective sympathy of his friends.

THE SOUTH AND THE UNION.

But though the Slave Power is thus rampant in the Nation, though the North does seem as if it delighted only in obeying its behests, and though there has been no relaxation of its insolence or its aggression, still there is ground for hope. The Glorious Union between the North and the South, or even of the South with itself, is not so entire and perfect as its lying priests and prophets pretend. It has within itself the elements of destruction. It was said more than eighteen hundred years ago, that a house divided against itself cannot stand, and the truth of the saying is written on every page of history, antecedent and subsequent. It is not unlikely that the history of our own country may furnish fresh and pregnant examples, by which Philosophy may teach the same truth to future ages. We are "*imperium in imperio*," empire within empire, and the division that goeth before a fall may wait upon the great including whole or the included parts. The elements of division exist in both the one and the other, and must be eliminated or they must inevitably grow to a catastrophe. The great national element of division we need hardly say is Slavery. The point of the wedge was inserted next the corner-stone of our institutions by their founders themselves, and not an event, or a man representing

events, since then, but has struck it home, whether wittingly or not. By the everlasting laws of moral mechanics it must either be withdrawn or its pressure must grow stronger and stronger and at last make a fissure that will shatter into heaps the proud structure upon the heads of those that put their trust in it. This truth, which, like all truths, was at first hid from the wise and mighty and revealed only unto babes, has at last forced itself upon the notice even of our little great and foolish wise and have led them to apply their strength, which is weakness, and their wisdom, which is folly, to remedy an evil to which they can no longer shut their eyes. And the remedy which our wiseacre political mechanics propose is, not the removal of the instant wedge and the reparation of the damage it has done to our foundations, but to hold our tongues about it and leave it to itself!

Unfortunately for their philosophy, this is a thing to which their power, though not their will, has been unequal. The American people have contracted such a habit of talking that it is quite impossible to stop them. The more loudly the wicked cry "peace, peace," the less peace do they find. Indeed, they cannot help talking, themselves, about the very matter on which they would have all the rest of us hold our peace. So that if Silence is the price of Safety, we fear that our doom is sealed. But in silence or in storm, the enemy of our peace is going on unceasingly sapping our foundations and must of necessity finally accomplish its natural end. Even in the great Logocracy at Washington, which fittingly represents the lesser logomachies which are waging all the time all over the country, it has been found impossible to put a hook into the unruly member. It will be wagging. And as it stirs it moves every part of the continent. It matters not much which way it wags; the machinery of which it is the motive power results, in any case, in a stroke on the head of the wedge, and its work is, by so much, the nearer done. It either provokes the South or arouses the North, and from one or the other, or from both, down comes the blow which is to help to divide them, unless the fatal implement can be withdrawn. The more excitement, indeed, the more frequent and the heavier the blows. But even in the days of the deadest calm and indifference, the disturbing and jarring force was felt, even though men might not know where it lay, or even if they attributed it to some innocent cause. But those days are forever past. They can never return. Every eye is growing clearer to discern and every arm waxing heavier to give momentum to the cleaving edge that is turned against it.

But this is not the only cause of division which exists in the country. It is not merely the natural antagonism which such a horror as Slavery must excite where it does not hold absolute and crushing supremacy, that threatens our institutions as they are. The opposition of humanity to tyranny and cruelty is not the only danger they have to apprehend. Elements of hostility arising, more or less remotely, from Slavery exist in a far more intense degree, because of a more selfish origin, than any that divide us of the North from the Slaveholding section. There is no violent affection felt, at the North, for the South: and the South makes no disguise of its just contempt and natural hatred for the North. But no aversion of North to South, no enmity of South toward North, approaches in depth and fury that hatred which now burns in the breast of Slaveholder against Slaveholder. There was never any love lost between the Southern States. Though they would rally and present a united front whenever their favorite crime was assaulted, yet the truce was always only till the danger was passed away. We have no such rivalries and animosities North of Mason's and Dixon's line as have always prevailed South of it. There is no more hostility between the New England States, or between any of them and New York or Pennsylvania, and *vice versa*, than there is between Kent and Essex, or Lancashire and Staffordshire in England. Some slight rivalry in trade or manufactures may exist; but nothing that embitters the heart or excites the passions. Not so at the South. The hatred felt by North Carolina and Tennessee for their haughty sister South Carolina, and the jealousy aroused in her by the growing prosperity of Georgia—a prosperity mainly owing to the larger infusion of Northern blood into her recent population—has not, and never has had, a parallel in the Northern States.

And this spirit of division now rages, as it never did before, not only between State and State, as of old, but between Slaveholder and fellow Slaveholder of the same State. Of this a sufficient proof was given in the encounter on the floor of the House between Messrs. BROWN and WILCOX, of Mississippi. All the difference between them, and multitudes of their neighbors in the same Hall, is, that they could not keep their hands off each other, whereas the others *have* been able to contain themselves to that extent, thus far. And what was the immediate root of this bitterness, so much more bitter than ever before? The Blessed Compromise! That Panacea for every political evil! That Olive Branch which, being waved over the boiling waters of Agitation, was to still them into peace! The Olive Branch, like the rod of the

prophet, was turned into a serpent, which began at once devouring all the lesser serpents of the inferior magicians.

One of the most significant, and, to one who sees that nothing short of a political convulsion can suffice to free this country from the Curse which clings to it, one of the most hopeful of the signs of the time, is discerned in this state of feeling which has grown out of the Compromise at the South. The public men there know that the Compromise was a Sham, a Humbug ; that it gave them nothing that they had not before, and pretended, at least, to take from them that which they had set their hearts upon having. To be sure, they had no right to what they claimed ; but after having been the spoiled children of the nation, who could always get what they wanted by threatening to do themselves an injury, it was all one as if they had the clearest title to it. It is true also that, by their persistency in evil, they will probably get all they want. But the insult of the refusal was none the less stinging. Although the Union party, as it is called, seems to be predominant in the South, just now, it can no more be permanently in the ascendant there than the Whig party can have the permanent control of the nation. The great passions which rage there are not to be stilled by a word from Washington, and all that has been thrown upon the flames in hope of extinguishing them has only made them burn the fiercer. We see cause for hope in this state of things. A state of passion is arising in the South which may spurn at the solid advantage of the Union for the dearer pleasure of Revenge. The re-action there will be towards Secession. It will not be long before Unionists will be as dead, politically, there as Hartford Conventionists have long been at the North. A great flame is yet to rage in the Southern country. It may be that they will feel strong enough, or desperate enough, to cut loose from us, their protectors. It is not unlikely ; for men's passions, in Revolutionary times, overpower their cooler reason. And these are such times.

RELEASE OF DRAYTON AND SAYRES.

This year has been marked by the unexpected, but most welcome, release of Captains DRAYTON and SAYRES from the imprisonment at Washington to which they had been condemned for their humane attempt to assist the escape of the seventy Slaves in the Pearl. For nearly five years and a half had these excellent men been incarcerated,

and often treated with great harshness, for an act which in any other country would have been honored and rewarded. Renewed attempts were made during this year to act upon Congress, or the President, in their behalf. The Hon. CHARLES SUMNER laid the case before President FILLMORE in such a manner that he expressed his willingness to exert his pardoning power in their case, could it be shown to be one constitutionally within it. Mr. SUMNER prepared an elaborate legal opinion on this point, which, having been submitted to Attorney General CRITTENDEN, by the President, and indorsed by him, induced this act of Executive Clemency. For so must we call, in this country, the remission of a virtual imprisonment for life of two culprits who felt for those in bonds as bound with them! Captain DRAYTON, after his discharge, attended several Anti-Slavery meetings, some of them called on his own account, and excited much interest and sympathy by the recollection of his sufferings and of his manly endurance of them. These are men whom history will not forget when she is making up her jewels.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The history of the past year has confirmed the fixed opinion of the Abolitionists that the Fugitive Slave Act, with the other Compromise Measures, was but an electioneering trick, not designed nor expected to be of material advantage to the Slaveholders. Both political parties wished for the help of the South, and both hastened to do all that was demanded of them, and more. The Fugitive Slave Act was meant rather as a homage to the Slave Power than as a Remedy from which intelligent Slaveholders hoped for much relief from the flight to which this form of riches was peculiarly exposed. But whether so intended or not, the last twelvemonths' experience has shown that practically it has been of no great avail for the recapture of Slaves that have escaped. While we have the best of reasons for believing that there was never a year in which a greater number of Slaves have shown themselves worthy of liberty by taking it, without leave, the number of arrests have been much less than during the preceding year. And during that year the successful attempts at recapture had the Rescues of SHADRACH and of JERRY and the bloody Retribution of Christiana to be set off against them, besides the agitation and expense attending the Kidnapping of SIMS.

The excellent Report of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, which, from its frontier position, is particularly well qualified to speak on this matter, says, "One year ago our record showed a catalogue of twenty-six cases of alleged Slaves delivered up from this State under the Fugitive Law, besides numerous cases of kidnapping and attempts to kidnap, and other instances of outrage and violence perpetrated under cover of this infamous enactment. This year we have to report but three cases of extradition as having occurred within the limits of our State, and only two well-authenticated cases of kidnapping." This is, certainly, a most gratifying change for the better, bad as the evil now stands.

One of these Pennsylvania cases was of peculiar atrocity, and furnished a clear illustration of the natural operation of the law. Last May, JAMES PHILLIPS, a colored man who had lived fourteen years in Harrisburgh, and was much respected, and employed in a confidential situation on a Railway, was thrown off his guard by a friendly salutation, knocked down, arrested, and carried before Commissioner RICHARD McALLISTER, a worthy instrument of such a law. In the most summary and insolent manner, on evidence that could not have established a claim of property in a dog, and without regard to the grossest irregularities in the process, this unhappy man was delivered to his tormentors. The enormity of the case created a strong sensation in all that region, which found utterance in newspapers of all descriptions, and relief in a contribution which ransomed him from his captivity, and gave him to liberty again.

On the twenty-ninth of April a man named WILLIAM SMITH was arrested under a warrant of the same infamous McALLISTER, at Columbia, Pa., on complaint of one RIDGELEY, of Baltimore. SMITH endeavored to escape, and in the attempt, and whilst in the custody of the officers, RIDGELEY drew a pistol and shot him dead. The murderer escaped, with scarcely an effort to arrest him. He arrived in Baltimore, and gave as an excuse for his conduct a lying story of resistance and an attempt at rescue. It has never appeared that Governor BIGLER has demanded the surrender of RIDGELEY, or that any steps have been taken to bring him to justice. The Maryland Legislature authorized Governor LOWE to appoint Commissioners to collect facts and confer with the Governor of Pennsylvania about it. But nothing has been heard of the Commission or its doings. The murderer is at large and in safety and no adequate, or even decent, indignation is felt or pretended by the mass of the people of that State or of the country. How dif-

ferent from this was the way in which the justly merited death of GORSUCH was received by the public ! The country shook with excitement when the kidnapper fell by the hand of his intended victim. But when the Slavehunter, in cold blood, or in a paroxysm of coward fear, murders his prey, it makes a paragraph in the papers, a moment's gossip in the neighborhood, and there an end !

In New York, there have been fewer cases than the year before, though not less instructive as to the nature of the Fugitive Law. Last April, HORACE PRESTON, a colored man, residing at Williamsburgh, was privily seized, on a false charge of theft, it is said, and taken without notice to his family before Commissioner GEORGE W. MORTON. By accident the fact and the place of his examination came to the knowledge of PRESTON's wife, and Messrs. E. D. CULVER and JOHN JAY, with the honorable promptitude which distinguishes them on such occasions, hastened to his help. Mr. RICHARD S. EMMET also assisted in the defence. The counsel for the Slave moved that the proceedings be dismissed for want of sufficiency of the affidavit of the owner's attorney. This motion was argued at length, and the Commissioner took until the next morning to decide it, with the express understanding with the counsel, that should he sustain the proceedings, they should have an opportunity to introduce evidence that the man was not a Slave. On the next morning, however, the Commissioner, without notice, after giving his opinion that the affidavit was sufficient, instantly decided in favor of the Claimant, and signed the Certificate with all speed. An application was immediately made to the notorious Judge JUDSON, for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, which was refused on the ground of *want of time*. PRESTON was instantly removed to Baltimore. The only appeal which remained to the Counsel of PRESTON lay to the Public, which they made in a Card, concluding in these words :—

“ How far the conduct of the Commissioner in this case, in admitting all evidence offered for the claimant, of whatever character, including an affidavit made without knowledge, and confessions of the defendant while in duress—his refusal to compel an interested witness to answer on a cross-examination, and his cutting off all opportunity of rebutting evidence by a snap judgment, made in violation of good faith—comports with that strict impartiality and fairness which ought to be preserved in trials involving the right to liberty, is a question which the undersigned submit to the judgment of the community.”

This, necessarily, brought out the Commissioner, who, in a counter-card, endeavored to justify himself on the ground that he had reason to believe that the pretence of the examination of witnesses was a merely vexatious one, intended only for delay. And for proof of this referred to a conversation with Mr. EMMET, in which, as he affirmed, that gentleman had said that they had no witnesses to produce. This, however, produced an instant and indignant contradiction from Mr. EMMET, who denied that he had made such a statement; but, only, that he did not *know* whether they had or not, he having come casually into the case and having had no consultation with the other counsel. The hardship of this case was so palpable that even New York was moved to redress it by a subscription for the purchase of the Slave, in promoting which, Mr. BUSTEED, once a Methodist minister but then the counsel of the Slavecatcher, took an active part. It was successful and PRESTON was restored to liberty and home.

CASE OF DANIEL KAUFFMAN.

Another case in Pennsylvania, growing out of the Constitutional protection of Slavery, is worthy of being remembered. An action was brought by the owner of some fugitive Slaves against DANIEL KAUFFMAN and several others for damages for harboring and concealing them, when the agent was in pursuit of them. The harboring and concealing consisted in a night's shelter being given to a party of fugitives in the barn of KAUFFMAN and food supplied them. No sufficient evidence was given that KAUFFMAN knew that they were pursued. The charge of Judge GRIER was in keeping with the judicial character he has established and maintained so long. For violence and indecency of language, perhaps it has had no parallel since Lord Chief Justice JEFFREYS held the bloody Assizes. By an *obiter dictum* he disposed of the doctrine that a Slave brought to a free country by his master becomes free. "This question," he said, for this was one of the points of the defence, "depends upon the law of Maryland and not of Pennsylvania! On this subject," he continued, "Lord MANSFIELD has said some very pretty things (in the case of Somerset) which are often quoted as principles of common law. But they will perhaps be found, by examination of later cases, to be classed with rhetorical flourishes rather than legal dogmas!" On this evidence, and under this exposition of law, a verdict was found against KAUFFMAN (the

others being acquitted) with damages assessed at \$2,800, — being more than the amount of his entire property ! At such a risk are the simplest offices of humanity performed in this Model Republic and Christian Nation !

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Among the other signs of a reviving sense on the part of the Slaveholders and their abettors, of the growing dangers to their cherished institution, under the spread of truth by the breath of agitation, not the least observable is the increased attention which has been given of late years to the Colonization Scheme. That nefarious plot which had seemed at one time to have been defeated by the exposure which it met at the hands of the Abolitionists, has been revived and promoted with new energy. Attempts have been made to procure the assistance of Congress to help in the removal of some hundreds of thousands of the laborers of the country from it at its own expense. Even Northern Governors have recommended this deportation of labor to their Legislatures as a humane and wise policy. Only last year, Governor HUNT brought the subject before the Legislature of New York in his Annual Message. His argument in favor of the Society rested mainly on the stereotyped assumption of the impossibility of the two races living together on terms of equality. "It is evident," said His Excellency, "that every scheme for the elevation of the African to a position of equality and full citizenship in our country, must prove delusive until pride and the sense of superiority shall have been extirpated from the human heart. The instincts of nature, too powerful to be counteracted by the refinements of abstract reasoning, proclaim that the two races must sooner or later be separated !" As if such a separation were physically possible, were it not economically ruinous ! And as if the contempt with which all Europe regards our prejudice of color did not contradict this whole philosophy of an instinctive antipathy between the races ! The Colored people of the State of New York, justly alarmed by this blow aimed at them, held a numerous attended meeting in the City and a Convention at Albany. The speeches and debates of these meetings, and the excellent Address which was issued by the latter in reply to the Governor, were satisfactory proof of the capacity of the colored race to understand and to maintain their rights. At the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, last

year, Mr. WEBSTER took the Chair in place of Mr. CLAY, whose health did not permit his acting. Mr. WEBSTER showed that he well understood the character and purposes of the Society, and made it the occasion of fortifying his bid for Southern votes for the Presidency. He gravely pronounced the exportation of the blacks from this country a physical and moral necessity for their preservation. He declared it to be an impossibility, decreed by the instinctive repulsions of a thousand years, that the black and white race can live together in a state of equality. The separation of the two races, so as to enable each to pursue its own ends and institutions and functions alone, was, in his judgment, absolutely required by considerations of humanity to a race of men who can never be treated, among the whites of the continent, as other than an inferior class, and must consequently inevitably decay ! This language on the part of the Whig Prime Minister was fitly rewarded by raising him to the Presidency of the Colonization Society, though it failed of securing him that of the United States. At the Annual Meeting of 1853, not long since past, the successor of Mr. WEBSTER in the Premiership, the Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, made the Great Speech of the occasion. He urged the Scheme in view of its great benefits to Africa. He did not dwell on the inferiority of the colored race ; but, on the contrary, proved by arguments and examples the high degree of cultivation and ability to which they could attain and which he wished to be transferred to Africa for her regeneration. We cannot but think that such men were quite as much needed in America. We apprehend the tone and character of Mr. EVERETT's Speech will not commend it to the approbation of the Slaveholders, for whose benefit the Society exists.

The American people enjoy the general reputation of being sharp-sighted and unscrupulous, wherever they think their interests are concerned. No nation gets such a general reputation for lubricity and cunning as the Universal Yankee one possesses, without deserving it in some good degree. What all the world says, of nations as well as of individuals, is very apt to be at least half true, if not a little more. Like other cunning people, to be sure, we are apt to over-reach ourselves and to be overtaken in our own craftiness. But to our own notions of our interests we seldom, if ever, fail to be true. And none the less selfishly so when we think it best to wrap up our designs in the folds of saintseeming hypocrisy. The devil is never so dangerous as when disguised as an angel of light, and a Yankee is ever most mischievous when he assumes the garb of humanity and religion.

These disguises, indeed, are as material to our success in our business as is the knowledge of tongues to a merchant in the foreign trade. The concealment of our ideas being the chief end for which speech and action are employed, there is no time when an American needs to be looked after more closely than when he sets up goodness as the sign under which his business is to be carried on.

This trait of our national character was never more fully displayed than in the conception and growth of the Colonization Scheme. Assuming that Slavery is a good thing for us, as a means of creating wealth, its safety and comfort were proper things to be seen to. Of course, our premises were false; but that is nothing to the purpose. All we are considering is the fitness of our means to the ends we thought desirable to compass. The near presence of the Free Colored people was ever a source of annoyance and apprehension to the Slaveholders. It was not agreeable to the bulk of the Northern people, because it was a perpetual reminder to them of the injustice of their fathers. It was, therefore, a problem of no mean interest, the question of what should be done with them. They were increasing and multiplying. The apparent unavoidableness of the evil had made men accommodate themselves, in some degree, to it, and the condition of the Free Blacks throughout the country, but especially in the region of Slavery and its borders, was certainly better than it is now, before Colonization was. But a Demand is sure to create a Supply. If a thing is to be done, there will never be wanting inventors or contractors to contrive and to carry into effect the means of doing it. A method of disposing of the Free People of Color, and of such Slaves as rendered themselves formidable to their masters by their intelligence and ability, was desired and, obedient to the wish, the Colonization Society sprang into existence.

Like its Father, the Devil, it was a Liar from the beginning. It professed, at the North, to have for a main purpose the Abolition of Slavery, and it succeeded, in a good measure, in absorbing the sympathies and money of those who hated Slavery at the North, and especially in the Middle States. We have been assured that the reason why it never took an equal hold upon the New England mind was the prompt exposure of its true character, when its claims were first presented, by TIMOTHY PICKERING and other men who saw Slavery and its devices with eyes which had been watching both for more than fifty years, and whose old experience had attained

“To something of prophetic strain.”

At the South, it made no secret of its true designs, and appealed to their obvious utility, as a safeguard of Slavery, to induce States and individuals to promote them. As soon as the Anti-Slavery Movement arose, it proved a true touchstone of this, too, as well as of most of the other opinions, practices, and characters it encountered. The natural and inevitable antagonism of Ideas, the one of which contemplated the Immediate Extinction of Slavery, and the other, its indefinite continuance and well-being was at once developed. They could not consist together. With many honest exceptions, who very fast took themselves out of the category of exceptions, as a general thing, the promoters of the Colonization Scheme proved themselves the bitterest and most unscrupulous enemies of the Colored Race and the sternest opposers of its deliverance. And so it hath remained unto this day. A Colonizationist and a Pro-Slavery man of the most venomous description may be taken for synonymous and convertible terms. Who are the main supporters of Colonization now? The framers and supporters of the Fugitive Slave Law, and its kindred abominations. HENRY CLAY has just yielded its Chair to DANIEL WEBSTER. The Slave-catchers, honorable and reverend, clerical and laic, are its foremost supporters and friends.

The instincts of the Colored People, however, were too true for all charming of politicians and priests to overcome, charmed they never so wisely. The most intelligent and well-instructed knew that sweet waters never flow from bitter fountains. They refused to seek for grapes of the thistles which their natural enemies had planted for them, or to hope for figs from the cruel thorns from which they had with such difficulty escaped. They knew that America was their Native Land as truly as of those that asked them to abandon it, and they clung to it as their birthright. The better portion of the Colored men saw that here was the place allotted to them, where they were to work out the problem of the fortunes of their Race. Their fathers had been brought here against their will, to be sure. And so, in some sort, were the ancestors of the White Races; for most of them would have staid at home, could they have had their own way in matters religious, political, or pecuniary, that they deemed paramount. But having been born upon the soil, it was their native soil, as truly as it was that of WASHINGTON, or JEFFERSON, or JAY, or HANCOCK. And it seemed to them as absurd to propose to remove them back again to the golden coast of Africa as it would to the descendants of those driven hither by the persecutions of JAMES or the dragooning of LOUIS to suggest

their deportation to England or to France. And to the more ignorant and unthinking, it appeared as plain as it could to any white philosopher, that bad as were the ills they had, it was better to make the best of them than "to fly to others that they knew not of."

Thus, for one reason and another, the Colored people have withheld "their own consent" (the illusive condition, only meant to blind silly philanthropists) from the plan which would take them from the homes, however humble, they had won for themselves here and set them down on a strip of coast, with the Ocean on one side and savages made more barbarous by intercourse with white men on the other, and with a deadly atmosphere overhanging it. And so measures have been, from time to time, taken to win this preliminary consent. The Slave States have made the contrivance of measures for the discomfort of their Free Colored population a part of their State-craft. And this devilish Machiavelism has extended itself to the Free States nearest to them. They are placed out of the pale of the law by the rejection of their oaths in Courts of Justice. They are denied the right of suffrage, entirely in some States, and with qualifications difficult to acquire in others. Into some they are refused admittance. The Common Law, the Constitution of the United States, the dictates of the simplest humanity are set at naught, so that these benighted heathens may be converted from the error of their ways. And in addition to all this, and more than it all, the social condition of this unfortunate class is everywhere made as uncomfortable and unhappy as possible for the same beneficent purpose, in part, of bringing them to a sense of what is good for them. At this time, the designs of the Slaveholders and their tools, at Washington and elsewhere, are becoming more and more apparent. The scheme for the establishment of National Steam vessels on that route, the cruel legislation proposed in Virginia, the many propositions for direct assistance to the Colonization Society, all show in which direction the popular, or rather the governmental, gale is setting. And it is just at this moment that a new ally of the oppressor appears. His heart is comforted and his hands strengthened from an unexpected quarter. At this critical juncture, Mr. JAMES G. BIRNEY, once a Slaveholder, then a Colonizationist, next an Abolitionist, after proceeding through the stages of New Organization and Third Partyism, at last returns to the point of Colonizationism! We trust he will not slide back the further step and become again a Slaveholder! And yet it would hardly be more strange, in view of all that he has known and said, than what he has done. It is many years since we entertained a high

opinion of the principles of Mr. BIRNEY. His humanity in freeing his Slaves we honored. His deliverance from the delusions of Colonization we respected. But his coöperation with the base and sectarian assaults which were made in 1839-40 upon the life of the Anti-Slavery Movement, and, especially, his participation in the spoliation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have diminished the surprise we could feel at any new demonstration of his. The whole tone of his argument indicates a want of faith and of appreciation of the true signs of the times, a weakness of observation and of reasoning. He assumes what the Slaveholders and the enemies of the Colored Race have always assumed, that it cannot remain in this country. He virtually admits the perpetuity of Slavery. His arguments, if good at all, strike at the very root of all moral, or even political, agitation against Slavery. It is the philosophy of despair. Mr. BIRNEY is unlike the Bourbons, inasmuch as he has forgotten much, if he has learned nothing, during his experience of Fifteen Years.

The Abolitionists have no objection to Colonization, as one mode of improving the condition of any class of men. They do not, as Mr. EVERETT intimates, dissuade the Colored People from going to Africa, from any fanatical determination that they shall stay in this country and suffer the hardships and disabilities to which their abode here exposes them. The enemies of the Colonization Scheme would not dissuade a Colored man from emigrating to Africa or to Neva Zembla, if he really thought it for his advantage to do so. They are continually encouraging and assisting a far more numerous Emigration to Canada, than the Colonization Society, with all its popularity and command of means, has been able to promote to Liberia. Our objection is not to Colonization, but to the assumption that the two races cannot live together in this country, an assumption contradicted by the experience of two hundred years, and to the consequent adoption of laws and customs intended to make their condition so uncomfortable that they shall be compelled to fly in their own defence. This we denounce as inhuman and abominable. Mr. EVERETT compares our opposition to the measures of the Colonization Society to that of men who should dissuade the suffering Scotch, Irish, Swiss, Germans, Norwegians and others from emigrating to America, "kindling in their minds a bitter nationality or morbid patriotism, urging them to stay and starve, rather than emigrate and find employment, position, and prosperity for themselves and their children on this side of the Atlantic." Now we apprehend there is no parallelism between the cases. We do not dissuade

the Colored people from Emigration which we believe would be for their benefit ; but from one which we are well assured would be a change greatly for the worse. And we denounce the principles and measures of the Colonization Society precisely as we should a line of policy on the part of the despotic governments of Europe to compel emigration by a systematic course of oppressive measures, devised and carried out for the purpose of driving their poorer subjects from their native country to this. The Colonization Society has ever been one of the most formidable, because one of the most insidious, enemies of the Colored Race. It approaches it under the guise of friendship, and asks it to perpetuate the servitude of the Bond, by the exile of the Free. Its principle is inherently vicious, lying, and wicked. It must be ever watched without rest and exposed without mercy.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN AND THE WHITE SLAVE.

Our recapitulation of the Anti-Slavery influences which have been brought to bear on the public mind during the past year, would be very imperfect if we neglected to notice the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a Romance full of Facts, narrated with wit, pathos, and discrimination of character of a very high order. This work which appeared originally in the columns of the *National Era*, was published early in the year and soon created a most extraordinary excitement, first on this and afterwards on the other side of the Atlantic. Its success, indeed, has not only been without parallel in literary history, but has far outstripped the most brilliant successes of former authors. No book ever passed through so many editions, in the same space of time, either in this country or in Europe, and we believe that so large a number of copies has never been sold of any book, in any space of time, unless it may be the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It has been translated in most of the continental languages, and placed upon the stage, in a dramatic form, in almost every city. So that, whilst our wise Legislators at Washington were fulminating their anathemas against agitation, and solemnly resolving and re-resolving that it should be discountenanced, in every form and in every place, Mrs. STOWE was preparing a firebrand which was to make it blaze with a new fury. So impotent are Legislative attempts to stop the discussion of any question. Difficult in any country, it is impossible in this.

About the same time Mr. HILDRETH recast and concluded his Ro-

mance of Archy Moore, under the new title of *The White Slave*. Though the success of this work has not been comparable to that of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it has exceeded that of most American or English publications, considering the short space of time since it appeared in its new shape. It has passed through several editions, both in this country and in England, and has helped to make Slavery, still, the one topic of thought and of conversation. Its mode of treatment of the subject differs from that of Mrs. Stowe's work, but it is impressed with a vigor of thought and an energy of description that will give it a permanent place among standard works. The fact of the greater degree of success which has attended the re-appearance of Mr. HILDRETH's work than that which met it when first given to the world, we think is to be accounted for on the same grounds that, in some degree, account for the unprecedented success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Had the latter work been published fifteen years ago, we believe it would have attained a much more moderate measure of celebrity than that which has now so justly crowned it. And for the reason that, in this country at least, there did not then exist a public prepared to welcome such a work. Its American reputation would have been confined to a very narrow circle compared to that which now includes within its circumference all the Free States, and many of the best minds in the Slave States themselves. For twenty years and more, the Anti-Slavery Movement has been at work creating a public for Mrs. Stowe and Mr. HILDRETH, which has now given them the reception their genius deserves. We have foreseen and foretold that this would be the natural course of events, that Romance and the Drama would in due time come to our help by availing themselves of the help we had afforded them in the special preparation of the general mind, and we welcome joyfully these new auxiliaries to the Cause of Freedom.

Mrs. Stowe's novel, and its success, produced a world of replies, many of them taking the same narrative form, showing how delightful a condition Slavery is, while others took the shape of argumentative discourses to convince mankind of their mistake that it was better for a man to own himself than to belong to another, and to show that it was not the fault of anybody (except, possibly, the English) that Slavery now exists in this country. These works were, generally, of the most trashy and ephemeral character possible, and, for the most part, have already passed into oblivion. But they all helped to maintain and swell still higher that chorus of agitation which forbade any eye to be shut, or any ear deaf, to the refractory facts of Slavery. The news-

papers, too, especially the more rabid of the Pro-Slavery political and ecclesiastical papers, from the New York Herald down to the New York Observer, have contributed their proportion to this wholesome result, in the very fullness of their zeal to counteract it. Thus does the God of Freedom make the wrath and wickedness of man to praise him.

THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

There was perhaps never a year, since West Indian Emancipation, when the public mind of Great Britain and Ireland has been so deeply stirred on the subject of Slavery, as the last. This has been in a measure owing to the vast popularity and infinite circulation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But, still, the main assistance which the Anti-Slavery cause has received from the mother country has been from those old, steadfast, long-tried friends whose sympathies needed no stimulus from Fiction, and whose persistent labors rest on an enduring foundation of solid principles. Many meetings have been held in various parts of that kingdom, in Bristol, in Glasgow, in Belfast, and various other cities, called forth by the general demand of the Slave on their human sympathies, or by some specific occasion for a public expression of feeling. Latterly, these have been frequently in honor of Mrs. Stowe and her work, and substantial testimonials have been collected, in minute sums, as a solid expression of respect and gratitude. All these things have in a very satisfactory manner kept the subject before the British mind, and caused a continual discussion of it, very painful to the sensibilities of pious and patriotic Americans on their travels.

While we have such general cause of rejoicing in the new hold which the Anti-Slavery Cause seems to have taken upon the British people, we must especially advert to the consistent and intelligent assistance which the true American Movement has received from various Abolitionists, in different parts of the two islands, but especially in Bristol and in Dublin. We have to thank them for taking their place by our side, from their faith in our fidelity to the Slave, in the face of very adverse influences of a sectarian nature. They have defended the principles and the characters of the Abolitionists of the American Anti-Slavery Society with a zeal and courage worthy of a warm return of gratitude and affection. Eminent among these true friends are the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, which was formed in 1840 under the auspices of Captain CHARLES STUART, and by his false

representations induced to coöperate with Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN'S Society at New York, and with Miss BALL'S Society in Boston. But being sincere and earnest Abolitionists, their honesty of purpose in due time opened their eyes and made them perceive the difference between those who made Anti-Slavery a cloak for sectarian bigotry and those to whom it was a living principle and a guide of daily life. This Society, a year and a half ago, November 13th, 1851, having arrived at a knowledge of the true state of the cause here, and of the base conduct of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, withdrew its auxiliaryship from that body for reasons set forth in the following proceedings of the Society :—

The members of the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society have observed, with deep concern, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has taken no steps to redeem itself from the following grave charges, which have been brought against it in the *London Morning Advertiser*, the *Bristol Examiner*, and various other papers, both English and American, as well as at several public meetings :—

First—That the general course of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been one of unfaithfulness to the interests of three millions of Slaves in the United States of America.

Second—That it omitted to take any action in anticipation of the visits of American Pro-Slavery clergymen to England, until it was compelled to follow the current of popular feeling, which had been created during the previous three months by other less influential associations ; and,

Third—That it subsequently claimed to have originated the Anti-Slavery measures taken in this direction by different religious bodies, though many had been *adopted* before it put forth any *recommendation* of them.

Fourth—That although thoroughly aware of the real character and *merely nominal existence* of the "*American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*," it has persisted in demanding for *that Society, exclusively*, the support of British Abolitionists.

Fifth—That it has studiously concealed from the public the unceasing exertion and great achievements of the "*American Anti-Slavery Society*," excluding from the *Reporter* all notice of its proceedings, and declining to insert, even as advertisements, any resolutions of sympathy with its labors, or any appeals for aid to its annual Bazaar.

Sixth—That it has taken no notice, in the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, of the most remarkable series of Anti-Slavery meetings ever held in the United States, at which GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., M. P., recently addressed vast numbers of the American people, with singular eloquence, faithfulness, and success.

Seventh—That it has assiduously kept back from the readers of the

Reporter accounts of interesting and important public meetings, held in different parts of the kingdom, to welcome those able and distinguished representatives of their brethren in bonds, WILLIAM WELLS BROWN and WILLIAM and ELLEN CRAFT; and has neglected and discouraged Fugitive Slaves bearing high testimonials from leading members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, while commending to the sympathy of the British public such as are patronized by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Eighth—That for the last eleven years, some of its most active members, without rebuke from the Society, have industriously circulated sinister reports, prejudicial to the character and influence of some of the most virtuous, high-minded, and intrepid American Abolitionists, while the *Reporter* has been closed to all statements calculated to remove such misapprehensions; thus evincing a want of candor and magnanimity utterly unbecoming the professed friends of the Slave.

Wherefore, perceiving that the influence exerted by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has tended to repress energetic action, to withdraw English sympathy and aid from the true Abolitionists of America; and that by multiplying the obstacles with which these devoted friends of freedom have to contend, it has grievously retarded the Anti-Slavery Cause throughout the world—the members of the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society feel that this body has forfeited the confidence formerly reposed in it, and that their duty to the Slave requires them to dissolve all connection with it.

And it is hereby

Resolved, That this Society be no longer considered as an auxiliary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but that it constitute an independent organization to be governed by such regulations as shall hereafter be determined upon.

That the members of this Society consider it incumbent upon them to direct the attention of all other affiliated associations to the grounds of their separation from the parent Society; and that a copy of the above resolutions, and of the printed documents on the subject already in circulation, be sent to the Secretary of each auxiliary.

We have placed these excellent proceedings on our Record, this year, though they would have come more regularly under that of the last, because they have been widely circulated in an able, dispassionate, and well reasoned Report of the Society, adopted last June. We hope they will have the effect of opening the eyes of many sincere but misled Abolitionists, on that side of the water, to the fact that the worst enemies the Cause has to deal with are those that call themselves of its own household.

In consequence, probably, of these proceedings and of the constant fidelity of the London Morning Advertiser, which we cannot too highly commend and which we most cordially appreciate, Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN

was induced to come to the rescue of his discomfited Trans-Atlantic allies, in a pamphlet, in which with the comic effrontery which distinguishes that gentleman from all other men, he served up the old lies, with some considerable additions, about Mr. GARRISON and the American Anti-Slavery Society, for the entertainment of the British Anti-Slavery Public. This production boasted the invaluable sponsorship of Mr. JOHN SCOBLE, who had sneaked back to his dirty work again after his Hegira to Canada, from before the face of GEORGE THOMPSON and the Morning Advertiser. It was entitled "Reply to Charges brought against the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, &c., &c." At the request of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, your Corresponding Secretary prepared a brief answer to this attack upon them entitled "An Examination of the Charges of Mr. JOHN SCOBLE and Mr. LEWIS TAPPAN against the American Anti-Slavery Society." This was printed at Dublin, at the expense of the American Society, and was widely circulated by judicious friends. A second edition of a smaller size, and of a more numerous impression, was afterwards printed and distributed at the expense of our Anti-Slavery friends on the other side. At the same time, that faithful and intelligent friend of the American Anti-Slavery Movement, RICHARD D. WEBB, of Dublin, published a reply to this pamphlet of Mr. TAPPAN, entitled "The National Anti-Slavery Societies of England and the United States," which had an extensive circulation, — thus adding another to the many services he has rendered to the Anti-Slavery Cause.

Yet another and a most important measure has been adopted during the past year, by the British Abolitionists in sympathy with the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the establishment of a monthly organ for the dissemination of its principles and the presentation of the facts of the American Movement fairly and justly to the British public. The want of such an instrumentality has long been felt and has been the occasion of much misrepresentation and calumny passing current, from the want of an authentic vehicle of contradiction. This being now supplied in the Anti-Slavery Advocate, published in London, we hope for the most beneficial results from its efforts. It has been conducted thus far with signal ability and good judgment, as well as with the most perfect thoroughness and fidelity. We can assure the supporters and conductors of the Advocate that we most cordially appreciate the enlightened zeal which has led them to establish it as a new channel of communication between the true Abolitionists of the two worlds, and

that we will endeavor to evince our sense of it by giving them our best coöperation for the accomplishment of our common end.

One of the most observable of the new influences which the recent revival of interest in the condition of our Slaves in England has aroused, was the issuing of an Address to the Women of America, urging them to exert their influence for Emancipation, by a Meeting of ladies of distinction, under the auspices of the Duchess of SUTHERLAND, held at Stafford House. This Address, which was drawn up by the Earl of Shaftesbury, a nobleman distinguished for his philanthropic labors in behalf of the suffering classes in England, and better known in this country as Lord Ashley, his courtesy title during the lifetime of his father. Nothing could be more temperate or modest than its terms. It attributed quite as much guilt to the English Nation for the establishment of Slavery in America, as the facts will bear out. It did not insist on the Immediate Emancipation of the Slaves as the true philosophy. It dealt in no severe or denunciatory language. It was evidently designed to be so drawn as to avoid any just or conceivable occasion of exception or cavil as to its spirit or language. Lord Shaftesbury afterwards, in a reply to an impertinent attempt of the Committee of the British and Foreign Society to take this matter out of his hands, which was courteously rebuffed, stated that he considered the period of three years quite sufficient for any preparation of the Slaves for freedom. The signatures to this Address have not yet been all obtained, but when it is ready for presentation to the American public, it will probably present an array of names of women, eminent for rank, influence and intelligence, such as was never before collected together.

But this array of names and the formal offering of the Address were not needed to make it begin to do its perfect work. Of all men and women, in despite of our noisy Republicanism, there are none more under the influence of the *prestige* of rank and wealth than the Americans, — and especially that class which delight to bow down to our Slaveholding aristocracy at home. An Address, which, — had it proceeded from the middling class, or the dissenting bodies, of England, would have been treated with silent contempt, — coming as it did from the highest rank of English nobility, demanded and obtained instant attention. Scarcely a newspaper, of either party, appears without articles, editorial or otherwise, aimed at the Stafford House Address. Formal Replies have been written, with more or less discretion and ability, by American women as well as men. A most wholesome im-

pulse has been given to that agitation of the question which can alone produce the change in the heart of the Nation, of which Emancipation will be the fruit. Even Congress has felt the sting of this most gentle rebuke, and the Duchess of Sutherland and her associates have been honored with a liberal share of Legislative vituperation. Altogether, the Address has been productive of vast good, in the attention which it has compelled the American public to give to Slavery, — attention which cannot be long directed to so hateful an object without beneficial results to many minds and hearts. We hope that the mighty influence which the higher classes of England have over American Society will be still excited to make every American, who is not an Abolitionist, blush for his citizenship as long as it is steeped in the blood and tears of millions of his countrymen.

Our faithful fellow-laborer, Mr. WILLIAM W. BROWN, has continued his services to the Cause during the past year with his usual zeal and ability. He has held many public meetings and assisted in the exposure of hollow friends as well as in the defeat of open enemies of the Cause of his fellows in bonds. He has published a book describing his impressions of the Old World, which has excited much interest as the production of one who had spent the chief of his days in the degrading condition of Slavery. His residence abroad has been of great value to the Movement there and at home. Mr. and Mrs. CRAFT, we believe, are still at Oakham, pursuing their education, under the auspices of Lady BYRON. Their presence in the country, under the peculiarly striking and interesting circumstances attending their self-deliverance, is a perpetual reminder of the existence and the horrors of Slavery, which cannot fail of its effect.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society was held in Rochester, N. Y., on Tuesday, May 11th, and continued in session for three days. The meetings were held in the Corinthian Hall, one of the largest halls in the country, and was well attended by Abolitionists from various and distant parts of the land. Its discussions were deeply interesting, and embraced all the topics which go to make up the great question of Slavery and its manifold relations to the bond and the free. Its evening sessions were thronged with eager

listeners, and a deep and salutary impression could not fail to be left on many minds.

The New England Convention met, as usual, in Boston, on the last Tuesday in May, and its sessions lasted for three days. From the beginning to the end of the Convention, the Melodeon was crowded with interested spectators and attentive listeners. Perhaps a more satisfactory one was never held. Messrs. GARRISON, PHILLIPS, THEODORE PARKER and others spoke with more than their usual energy and eloquence. The presence of Mr. JOSEPH BARKER, so well known as the friend of the poor man in the mass and in the individual, in England, and for his successful efforts to furnish him with mental food at a cheap rate, gave great additional interest to the meeting. His speeches were all clear, logical, forcible, and well put. We gladly welcome such a laborer into our abundant harvest of toil. A very small admission fee, in the evenings, saved us from all annoyance from unruly lads and mischievous men, while not a seat or standing place was left empty of auditors desirous of hearing, at least, what we had to say. It was a very satisfactory winding up of the winter and spring operations of the Society, of which a more particular account will be given in another place.

An immense assemblage came together at Abington on the Fourth of July, to assist at the only genuine Celebration of Independence held in the State. The fine day, the varied groups, the attentive multitudes, the beautiful grove with its encircling waters, made the scene most animating and brilliant. Mr. REMOND was called to the Chair, and Speeches made by Messrs. QUINCY, PHILLIPS, THEODORE PARKER, GARRISON, CALEB STETSON, Mrs. FOSTER, the President, and others. It was an occasion of unmingled pleasure, and had no drawback upon its satisfactions.

The Celebration of West Indian Emancipation was held, last year, at Framingham. Although the Grove was not so beautiful as that at Abington, it had conveniences of access and accommodation which made it a very excellent place of meeting. A special train conveyed a very large party to the ground, where it was met by other parties from the country round about. Mr. GARRISON presided, and opened the session with an impressive Speech. Messrs. REMOND, BURLING, THEODORE PARKER, Dr. FARRAR, of Maine, JOHN C. WYMAN, JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE, QUINCY, and others addressed the meeting. After a very pleasant and encouraging meeting the large audience dispersed at the close of the afternoon session, strengthened in their hatred of

Slavery, and comforted in view of the example England had set of the safety and blessings of Immediate Emancipation.

Forefathers' Day, which has been of late years added to our Anti-Slavery holidays, was celebrated at Plymouth, on the twenty-second of December. The meeting was well attended, though somewhat affected by the severity of the weather and by other and festive Commemorations of the Day in Plymouth. Messrs. PHILLIPS, PILLSBURY, and QUINCY, were the principal speakers. The Abolitionists of the Old Colony have done well in dedicating the Birth Day of New England to the Anti-Slavery Cause. There can be nothing in our contemporary history that could so warmly commend itself to the hearts of those founders of our institutions, than that attempt to free them from the curse which cleaves to them, and to make them really such a polity as the Fathers hoped to establish in the New World.

ANTI-SLAVERY OPERATIONS.

We could easily fill a large part of these pages with a detailed account of the operations of the Society, and the experiences of its agents, during the past year. But these latter have already been fully given, by some of the agents, in the Anti-Slavery journals, the *Standard* and the *Liberator*; and our space will not allow us to do more, in this place, than present a general statement and summary of what has been done.

And we would premise that we have not, for many years, so sensibly felt the want of larger funds, to meet the numerous demands upon us, as during the past year. This has not been owing to any decrease in the accustomed contributions of our friends. Some indeed may have cooled, but their places have been filled up by others; and from these sources, the old and the new, our hands have been faithfully upheld. But the calls upon our Board, and upon our General Agent, for the services of lecturers, for aid to hold meetings, and for such speakers as could sustain, in an able and instructive manner, the stated Sunday meetings which are springing up in many of our larger towns, and which are thronged by men and women, who have tired of the Pro-Slavery and unsatisfying routine of most of our so-called churches, have been so earnest and so frequent, that to comply with them, — and how could we refuse them? — has kept our treasury in an almost exhausted state, and has sometimes quite emptied it. In this state of things, we have been

compelled to forego the services of some persons, as agents, whose aid we should have been glad to secure for the Cause, and to retain others on the condition of their obtaining, by their own solicitation, the larger proportion of their own support. We believe that we have never had a more able corps of lecturers in the field, than during the year 1852, and we have satisfactory proof that their labors have been unusually effective.

Among the regular agents of the Society, who have been such for longer or shorter periods, none of them less than several months, have been STEPHEN S. FOSTER, ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, SALLIE HOLLEY, PARKER PILLSBURY, DANIEL FOSTER, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, LUCY STONE, WILLIAM B. STONE, and the General Agent of the Society, SAMUEL MAY, Jr. For shorter periods we have had the valuable services of CHARLES L. REMOND, JOSEPH J. LOCKE, NATHANIEL H. WHITING, LEWIS FORD, GILES B. STEBBINS, and ALONZO J. GROVER. Others, whose names are a sufficient pledge of the high worth of the contribution, have again and again volunteered their services, going forth to speak words which have carried conviction to many minds, and have thus given both a character and an impulse to our movement, which without them it could not have had. Among these we gladly and gratefully name WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, and JOHN T. SARGENT. With the aid of these friends and agents, the Society has been enabled to hold about Fifty large Conventions during the year; and upwards of three hundred and forty Anti-Slavery lectures have been given in the same time, most of which have been well attended. These have been held, not in Massachusetts alone, but also in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Maine, and New Hampshire, — this Society having been the trustee and organ of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Boston with such signal interest and effect in May last.

We shall be excused for pausing a moment to single out one name from our list of agents, for at least a passing word. It has been with more than common satisfaction, and with deep thankfulness, that we have been permitted to welcome to New England, and to the service of the Anti-Slavery Cause, a lecturer of such high qualifications, and such rare abilities, as Miss SALLIE HOLLEY. She has brought every gift, which a refined, educated, modest, and religious woman can bring, and devote them all, with the most entire singleness of purpose, to the cause of those *who are ready to perish*, — whom she sees victimized and heathenized by this hypocritical nation, *no man caring for their*

souls. In their behalf she has spoken such touching, eloquent, and holy words to our New England people, as have stirred their hearts to their utmost depths, and will not be soon forgotten. We fervently hope that her health may be renewed and confirmed, and that she may long continue to speak to this people's consciences and hearts, causing them to feel the greatness of their sin against their enslaved fellow-men, and impelling them to bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

DEATH OF ISAAC T. HOPPER.

The past year has been marked by the death of ISAAC T. HOPPER, the oldest as well as one of the most faithful of all the friends of the Slave. He died in New York on the seventh of May, after a long illness, which he bore with serene patience, in the eighty-first year of his age. The news of his death, though not unexpected, excited a deep sensibility in the minds of all who had ever been connected with him personally, or in any movement in the direction of Reform. Few men were more widely known and more deeply beloved where known, for sterling integrity and rare devotion to the best interests of his fellow-men. Hundreds, if not thousands, of fugitive Slaves have owed their escape to his coolness, courage, and fertility in resources, exerted during the many years of his long life. He was more than a birthright Abolitionist. He identified himself with the modern movement from its inception, was for several years an active officer of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and retained his interest in it to the last. Though warmly attached to the Religious Society of Friends, which he had joined from conviction in his youth, he did not hesitate to encounter its anathema when he found that it stood in the way of the Slave's deliverance. During the latter portion of his life he was more immediately connected with the Associations for the improvement of prisons and the reformation of criminals. The most unhappy classes of men and women were those to whose relief he felt himself the most irresistibly drawn; and it was with the blessings of the Slave flying to freedom, of the guilty or the weak seeking to escape from crime or vice, whom he had helped and strengthened, in his hand, that he went up to his account.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at Rochester, the following Resolution, expressive of the sense the

Society entertained of his loss, introduced and supported by Mr. GARRISON, was unanimously adopted : —

Resolved, That it is with emotion too profound for utterance that this Society receives the intelligence of the decease of the venerable ISAAC T. HOPPER, on Friday evening last, in the City of New York — the friend of the friendless, boundless in his compassion, exhaustless in his benevolence, untiring in his labors, the most intrepid of philanthropists, who never feared the face of man, nor omitted to bear a faithful testimony against injustice and oppression ; the early, steadfast, heroic advocate and protector of the hunted fugitive Slave, to whose sleepless vigilance and timely aid, multitudes have been indebted for their deliverance from the Southern house of bondage ; in whom were equally blended the gentleness of the lamb with the strength of the lion, the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove, and who, “ when the ear heard him, then it blessed him ; when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him ; because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that hath none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon him, and he caused the widow’s heart to sing for joy ; he put on righteousness, and it clothed him ; his judgment was as a robe and a diadem ; he was eyes to the blind, and feet was he to the lame. The cause which he knew not, he searched out ; and he broke the jaws of the wicked and plucked the spoil out of his teeth.”

THE CHURCH.

There has been no material change in the attitude of the various denominations into which the American Church is divided, towards the Anti-Slavery Movement. Individual ministers and particular churches may have shown from time to time a greater degree of sympathy and an increased disposition to coöperate with it ; but such cases have been merely exceptional. The great influences of the Church, of the more eminent ministers and laymen, are still thrown into the scale of the oppressor. The American Church, as a body, is still the deadliest enemy that the Slave has to encounter. The *prestige* of piety, the assumption of superior holiness, all the deeply rooted reverence of the people for their ecclesiastical customs and teachers, are craftily used to consecrate the crime of Slavery and to make the unthinking believe that it is an ordinance of God, with which they have no right to intermeddle. The mischief which flows from this perversion of the religious element in the national mind, is great in proportion to

the blessing which might be derived from it if righteously directed. Great is the responsibility, heavy the guilt, of those who have converted the waters of life into a spring of bitterness, and have made them a source of poison instead of healing to the nation.

The Methodist Church in South Carolina have perfunctorily cut the knot with which the Discipline had perplexed their pious ingenuity. The South Carolina Conference, at its last meeting, passed a unanimous resolution expunging from the Discipline the obnoxious Tenth Section, which is as follows :—

SECTION X. — OF SLAVERY.

Q. What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of Slavery ?

A. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of Slavery ; therefore no Slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our church hereafter, where the laws in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated Slave to enjoy freedom.

2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a Slave or Slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our church, unless he execute, if practicable, a legal emancipation of such Slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their Slaves to read the word of God ; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service.

At the last General Conference of the Methodist Church, South, an earnest attempt was made to expunge this section, but without success. So South Carolina took the initiative in this Ecclesiastical Nullification, and it remains to be seen whether the General Conference will pass any censure on this act of insubordination. Even this section, it will be seen, which was more than the Saints of South Carolina could endure, does not command men to obey God when Man has forbidden it, and permits its *local* preachers, by far the most numerous body, to hold as many Slaves as they please. It is only while they travel that they are required to lift up clean hands to God !

There have not been wanting, however, signs that the change which is gradually coming over the Nation's heart is beginning to be manifested in Ecclesiastical action. A Convention of Congregational Ministers held at Mansfield, Ohio, June 23d, passed the following Resolutions, which we hope express the sincere conviction and firm determination of all who passed them :—

Resolved, That we regard American Slavery as both a great violation of the Law of God and of the Rights of Man ; and that we deem it to be our sacred duty to protest by every Christian means against Slaveholding and against any and all acts which recognise the false and pernicious principle that makes merchandise of man.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the Congregational Convention of the State of Ohio which we propose to form, should hold no ecclesiastical correspondence with Slaveholding bodies.

The question of aid to be given to Slaveholding Churches by the American Home Mission Society was brought before the Congregational Convention held at Albany last October. The following Resolution was proposed by the majority of the Committee to which the operations of the Society were referred, on this subject :—

Believing that those who, for their own advantage, hold and use their fellow-men as Slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches, it is our opinion that churches which recognise such Slaveholders as worthy of membership ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society ; and, therefore, in dispensing the funds with which it is intrusted by the Christian public, it should give aid to such churches only as refuse such recognition.

A minority resolution was offered that such assistance should be given to such ministers as should “ with simplicity of purpose and wise discretion ” so preach as to mitigate Slavery and tend to its Abolition. After a long debate, in which various suggestions and amendments were proposed, the following Compromise was passed unanimously :—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms ; and that it is the duty of the Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in Slaveholding States, in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the gospel, and inculcate the practical application of gospel principles, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to Slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong ; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, “ depart out of that city.”

These steps, though not going as far as Christianity or Consistency requires, are still in the right direction, and we place them on record as among the signs of the times.

In the Episcopal Convention at New York, last Spring, Mr. JOHN JAY again urged the restoration of the Colored Episcopal Churches of that Diocese to their canonical rights and Christian privileges in that Body. It need hardly be said that his laudable attempt again met with defeat. But it is a wholesome testimony to be borne in the ears of the Church, which we hope he will not be discouraged from upholding. He, certainly, has received countenance and encouragement from a high quarter in the Church. For at the Pennsylvania Convention, last Spring, on the same question coming up, Bishop POTTER maintained the rights of the Colored Churches to ecclesiastical equality, in a Speech of eminent candor, ability, and Christian spirit. Though the measure did not prevail, we cannot but augur well of the future from the position taken by this distinguished prelate.

A fresh exemplification of the quality of the American Christianity and Republicanism has been furnished recently in the excitement caused by the Case of Signor MADIAT and his wife at Florence. These unfortunate persons having been imprisoned by order of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for the crime of having a Protestant Bible in their possession. This case naturally attracted the attention of the Protestant world, and remonstrances and reclamations were interposed in their behalf on the part of eminent public and private men in England and other Protestant countries. Stimulated by this example, zealous Slave-catching divines and laymen in New York joined with others in calling a great Indignation Meeting in Metropolitan Hall, over which the Mayor presided, and at which a vast amount of pious and indignant eloquence was ejaculated. Mr. Secretary EVERETT, at the request of the President of the United States, wrote to the Grand Duke asking for a remission of their sentence. With more than three millions of MADIAT'S at their own doors, to whom all knowledge of the Bible is denied, and to provide whom with it is felony in nearly half the States, these eminent Saints, in Church and State, have the assurance to interfere with the Domestic Institutions of Tuscany, and to dictate a Higher Law to its Legislative Authority! These men, professing to believe that a knowledge of the truths contained in the Scriptures are essential to the salvation of the soul, submit without remonstrance to its denial to one sixth of their countrymen, while they glow with real or simulated wrath at the meting out of the same measure to the Florentines! Not remembering in how much more justifiable a position the Grand Duke stands, who holds the reading of the Protestant version of the Scriptures to be dangerous to the souls of his subjects whose temporal

and eternal concerns have been committed to his care. Surely out of their own mouths these men stand condemned.

THE FUTURE.

It is the felicity of the Abolitionists that there can be no such thing as an uninteresting or uninstruetive event, or concurrence of events, to them. Everything is full either of prophecy or of fulfilment. This is, indeed, true of all men. Every moment is "the meeting of two Eternities" to every creature. But the Abolitionist knows and feels it, because he is ever on the outlook to mark the signs of the time, to inquire "what of the night?" and to wait for the coming of the inevitable dayspring. And he sees clearer than other men, for he looks with unselfish eyes, and hopes for the coming dawn, not because it is to bring a blessing to himself, but to others. Therefore he is not so apt to be deceived by lying prophets, or by false ones, as they who are made blind and deaf by the eagerness of self-interest. He has always heretofore seen more clearly into the future of Slavery than the seers of the pulpit or of the market-place. History has had much ado to overtake his predictions. She will never be able to outstrip them, till the goal of Emancipation is reached. For he has been bred in this School of Prophecy. He knows the subtle and treacherous nature of Slavery. He knows that Evil must needs prevail in any confederacy with Good. But he knows, too, that whenever Good and Evil are confronted in actual conflict, as they must needs one day be, there can be no question as to the side on which the Lord and Victory will be found.

It is an interesting point of History at which we now stand. The Slave Power is triumphant as it was never before, and its insolence is commensurate with its triumph. Its innate sagacity, made more acute by long experience, taught it how to compel the homage of both the parties into which the country is politically divided. Each, anxious that the preponderating weight which had turned the trembling balance so often when candidate was weighed against candidate, should be thrown into its scale, had humbled itself even beyond the measure of former humiliation. Every prominent public man having any chance of success hastened to outrun, even, the demands of the Slave Power, and thus established a propagandist policy, fortified by a Draconic code, such as it had never entered into the hearts of earlier Slaveocrats to conceive of. And, then, scornfully passing by all these suppli-

cants for its favor, the Slave Power touches with the sceptre one of whose loyalty it needed no protestations to be convinced, and sets him over all its house. CASS, BUCHANAN, DOUGLASS, MARCY, DICKINSON, were all passed by. Of WEBSTER it did not even condescend to recognise the existence. Even SCOTT, though he outstripped the lightning in his abasement, could hardly obtain the chance of the defeat from which it scarcely attempted to defend him. It accepted the silence of General PIERCE as a sacrifice of a sweeter savor than all their wordy liturgy.

Always before this year, one of the parties, at least in the North, made some decent pretensions of hostility to Slave Aggrandisement. It was part of its political capital to assume this virtue, if it had it not, and with it to set up in business trading politicians who were to watch the market and inveigle customers. But, this year, the Whigs, under the lead or by the compulsion of Mr. WEBSTER, disavowed these old professions on which they had stamped their image and superscription; they called in the issues and nailed them to the counter as base and counterfeit. In their place they drew bills of credit on the South, acknowledging, virtually, that Slavery and what represented it was the only legal political tender in these United States of America. Even the idolatry of the Almighty Dollar seemed to be merged for the time in the enthusiasm of this new religion. But it was in seeming only, for the devotees of the new Faith saw in it but a republication and a reinforcement of the old. Terms were defined anew. Patriotism became a cheerful helping of one hundred and thirteen thousand Slaveholders to make nearly four millions of as good men as themselves work for them for nothing. Public Duty was discovered to mean catching men striving to reinvest themselves with their humanity by flight, and replunging them into servitude and barbarism. Nationalism is admitted to be a joyful submission of the whole country to the worst and weakest part; while Sectionalism is as unquestionably the desire of restraining Slavery within its own place and not acknowledging its universal dominion. Christianity consists in helping to deny the Bible and the knowledge of itself to every sixth American; and Republicanism in the implicit submission of twenty-three million nine hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants to the will and pleasure of some seventy-five thousand (making a very moderate deduction for *women* and *minors*, holding Slaves in their own right,) *voting* oligarchs, holding their power in virtue of their ownership of human flesh and blood.

Now both parties, consisting of the vast majority of the Nation, are

as one in these things. What is to come of it? The Slave Power, thus reinforced by its eager allies of both parties, can do what it pleases. What will it please to do? It can proceed to take possession of Cuba and Hayti, or to take measures for their reception within the Area of Freedom. Whether it will do or attempt this depends in no degree on the general wish of the country or the true interests of the Nation. It having been conceded on all hands, excepting an insignificant and fanatical minority of Protestants, that the preservation, comfort, and extension of Slavery is the only National policy, any incidental interference with the subordinate interests of the Free States which the carrying out of that policy demands, neither will, nor should, be allowed to stand in its way. The only question will be, is this addition to our present Slave territory for the advantage of the same, or not? Is it advisable to risk adding a distant Island, like Cuba, with a population in which the blacks largely preponderate, to the domain of Republican Slavery? Should the Spanish Government, as a measure of defence, proclaim Freedom to all the inhabitants thereof, would it not be a difficult thing to reduce the blacks to their natural condition again? Would not an insurgent island looking across the Gulf of Mexico be of evil ensample to our own happy and contented peasantry? Would it be worth our while to engage in a conflict with Hayti, from which France, in the pride of her strength and glory, recoiled in defeat? Might not a not impossible, however impertinent interference on the part of England and France disturb the Present of the Cotton Trade to a degree not likely to be recompensed by its increase in the possible Future? These, and such as these, are the considerations which must decide the questions. We at the North have nothing to do with them, except to find the men and money necessary for enforcing the decisions of the only competent authority. For these we wait in humble patience and submission.

So much for the Future of our Foreign affairs. Our Domestic Policy is sure to be moulded by the same master hands. The right of publishing Anti-Slavery Journals, of holding Public Meetings, of agitating the question of Slavery in any way, lies at the door of that mercy. Both parties have resolved and re-resolved that the Slavery agitation must cease. Are they going to reduce these resolutions into action? It is for the Slaveholders to say. There is nothing to prevent the passage of a new Sedition Law, making the use of spoken or written language, calculated to bring the Constitution, Government, and Laws of the Union into contempt, punishable by fine and imprison-

ment. Just as good a case might be made out for such an one as was furnished for JOHN ADAMS'S law. Doctor COOPER, MATTHEW LYON, and others were punished under that Law, for evil speaking of authorities, during Federal Rule. And under JEFFERSON himself, JOSEPH DENNIE, of the Portfolio, narrowly escaped conviction for an abstract Dissertation on Democracy, illustrated from Ancient History, without allusion to America! If the Slaveholders demand this sacrifice of Free Speech and a Free Press, we do not see how it can be refused by the new Coalition of Whigs and Democrats, pledged to the Salvation of the Union. There is not a United States Court, and we fear not a State one, that would not sustain such laws as Constitutional. And under the new doctrine of Juries, there could be little difficulty in procuring convictions. It is merely a question of Slaveholding expediency; and if this policy be not adopted, it will be only because they are too wise in their generation to endeavor to extinguish a fire by smothering it with fuel.

Parties, it has been said, can exist only under free governments. The existence of parties is a proof that freedom of thought and of utterance is recognised in the countries where they are found, and their absence proves that the country which will not endure them rejects also the elements from which they spring. This political axiom grows out of the nature of man and of things political. Where men are at liberty to think for themselves and to say what they think, it must needs be that they take different views of their own rights and interests and divide on questions which arise, from time to time, touching those rights and interests. So it was "in Athens and free Rome." As long as any political liberty was left to them, they were divided, sometimes torn in sunder, by parties and factions. They divided on principles, as they received them, and, however violent and bloody the dissensions to which they gave rise, they were signs of life and of freedom. It was not until Macedonian and Roman conquest had "quenched the Eye of Greece," and her own vices had extinguished the light of Roman liberty, that party spirit was replaced in the first by the subtleties of scholastic disquisition, and in the last by the competitions of the Green and Red Factions of the Circus. So in the strifes between liberty and despotism in modern Europe. In the Italian Republics, in Holland, in Switzerland, in France, and in England, the reality of the Liberty they boasted might be tested almost to a nicety by the vitality of the parties which seemed to distract, but which did, in reality, give it a consistent and enduring life.

In this country, the same test has been found to perform its office with the same unerring accuracy. In the Colonial times, the people were divided into parties on questions involving the principles of the Prerogative of the Sovereign and the Constitutional Rights of the People. These disputes went before the Revolution and prepared the way for its advent. After the Revolution, the same political necessity produced the same results. Party Spirit raged, but it grew out of questions and relations which at least seemed to the parties, agitating them to involve vital principles and to reach towards remote and mighty issues. The general mind was in a state of turbulent excitement, but it was the excitement of life. The billows roared and foamed, but it was because the Spirit of Liberty moved on the face of the deep. The sea and the waves roaring might seem to threaten heaven and earth, but it was only an agitation which defecated and purified the surging mass of mind, and saved it from the fatal calm of the waveless sea of Despotism. Of later days, since the downfall of Napoleon, the nation has also been divided, though on questions of infinitely smaller moment. Principles have yielded place to policies, and men have fought, not for eternal laws of Right, but for laws of political and financial economy. Whether more money could be made by trade or by manufactures; whether, when made, it should be kept in a Bank or somewhere else; whether certain branches of business could be better conducted by natural or artificial persons, by individuals or by Corporations; these have been the questions which have superseded those struggles which made MILTON

“Scorn delights and live laborious days,”

which sent HAMPDEN reeling in his saddle, a dying man, from Chalgrave field, which gave up VANE and SIDNEY to the block, which filled the sails of the Mayflower and sharpened the sword of the Revolution!

But even the paltry factions of the shop and the spinning-jenny were better than no parties at all. They, at least, served to keep the general mind in motion and saved it from utter stagnation. As long as there was life, there was hope. But where are all those parties now? They have, indeed, a name to live, but they are dead. Who expected any alteration in the Tariff, any revival of “the obsolete idea” of a National Bank, any difference in the public policy of the country, from the success or the defeat of the man who must reign

over us for the next four years? Parties have, virtually, ceased to exist in the country. It is the worst of the many bad signs of the time. The insidious despotism, which our Fathers had the cruel folly to bind in a fatal wedlock to the Liberty for which they had fought, that despotism which has from the beginning controlled and directed the national parties for its own purposes, has ended by destroying them. Both parties have acknowledged its supremacy and received their leaders at its hands. The maintenance of the absolute power is acknowledged by both factions, as the great end for which they live and move and have their being. They vie with each other in their protestations of their readiness to crush out the life of their own liberties, as well as that of their fellow-Slaves at the South, if their masters will but touch with the Sceptre the National Overseer they prefer. As matters now stand, there is no party in the nation. Slavery has devoured them both, and now gorged, but not stupefied, she lies coiled into herself with head erect, ready to dart upon and destroy any insubordinate and impracticable Idea which may yet creep about unconsumed.

Always before, there was some make-believe, at least, of a difference of principles. From the Constitution of the Federal Government down to the Fall of BONAPARTE there were real, substantial parties which divided on opinions involving the very existence and independence of the Nation. One party believed that the other was plotting to reëstablish monarchical and aristocratic institutions, from their strong leaning towards England; while the other held that their opponents were ready to sacrifice the honor and independence of America to the ambition of France, and that between fear of France and hatred of England they were content to make of America a new Venice or another Holland, a despised and dependant tributary, so that the aggrandisement of the one Power and the humiliation of the other might be promoted. When parties revived and re-arranged their elements, after the *interregnum* of Mr. MONROE'S "Era of Good Feeling," they were dwarfed and dwindled from what they were in the days when there were Giants in the Land. They smacked of the Shop rather than of the Senate, of the Counter more than of the Cabinet. Great Ideas had given place to small ones, and all that men quarrelled about was as to how money was best to be made and safest to be kept. Perfectly proper topics for legislative discussion. But even General JACKSON could not erect the United States Bank into such a Monster as BONAPARTE used to be; and DANIEL WEBSTER

himself could not make the question of Tariff and Free Trade stir the souls of men as did the question whether we should have any Trade and any Independent Existence at all.

But, still, they were points of difference which were appreciated, and, though small, were large enough for parties to hinge upon. And so it went on until the Anti-Slavery Movement excited the apprehensions of the sagacious Slaveholders, and they reached out their hands and laid hold upon Texas as a Zoar, into which they might fly from the consuming fire which they saw impending. This gave occasion to a brief struggle which something resembled the old conflicts of two score years before. But the danger was more remote. France, under her "pagod thing of sabre-sway," was not waiting her time to devour us last, after swallowing up all the principedoms of Europe. Trade, instead of being endangered, was to be promoted, and so the North succumbed, declaring by the mouth of her most authentic oracles that "it was too late!" and that remonstrance "might be attended with bad results!" So that passed away into the Domain of History, and the greater enormity of the Mexican piracy came sweeping by after it. There was another great question calling for the rallying of the Nation into two great parties. And it did have the effect of creating the nucleus of a Great Party yet to be developed. But California offered her yellow sands to bribe the North to submission, the treachery of WEBSTER gave up all the rest to Slavery, and the golden opportunity was lost forever. Now there seems another Era of Good Feeling! All are of one mind as to those Villanies, and both the recent candidates won their nominations on the Battle fields of Mexico!

But we think that this silence is rather ominous than hopeful for the Ruling Power. It takes a Nation accustomed to unjust and wicked rulers a long time to shake off the yoke. The Reactions of Europe and the Fate of France for the last Sixty years are full of instruction on this point. But the spirit which has annihilated the Dynasty of the Capets and shook every Continental throne to its foundation, though laid for a time, is not dead. It must revive again, for it came forth from the holiest recesses of the human heart, and it will yet return and do its perfect work. Europe must be regenerated, because the spirit that God breathed into man demands it and will extort it. And so it must be here. We have for years and years submitted to be bullied and tricked by a base and treacherous oligarchy into doing acts and conniving at practices which make the Heavens weep. The spirit of resistance to that Oligarchy has been evoked. All the threats

and all the force that can be arrayed against it, can have no power to exorcise it. Its power is acknowledged in the very violence and uproar that its presence excites, and is witnessed unto by the very atrocities which have been committed to guard against it. Both the great parties have bowed down to Slavery in hopes that she would touch its favorite with the sceptre. Perhaps it may be shown that the North is a safer hope for Presidents that are to be than the South. And out of this confusion a better concord will arise.

The lull which new broods over the land cannot prevail long. Under the surface which looks so stagnant and moveless, mighty passions lurk. All men are not made to be the tools or the victims of tyranny. There is always a remnant left whose Protest is mighty. There is but one form of Tyranny that has grown worse as it has grown older, which has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, and that is Chattel Slavery. And the chosen home of that Tyranny is the American Republic — which not only endures it for others, but courts its chain and lash for herself! It is not in Man's Nature, nor in God's Nature, that these things should endure forever. Victoria I. sits on the throne of Henry VIII., but how different is her rule! And why? Because a minority has been ever at work moulding opinions and shaping institutions, until it has formed the most perfect system of Constitutional government that the world has yet seen. And the same force will continue to retrench its redundancies and remedy its defects. There is no reason why our institutions should not be made anew in that Republican Image the form of which they now disgrace. And it must and it will be done; if not by this generation, by a better yet to come. But we verily believe that some be yet alive that will see the coming of that day.

To hasten the coming of that day is the glorious privilege of the American Abolitionist. He is the true Conservative and the true Reformer. He would destroy nothing in politics or religion that is not perverted to the base uses of the tyranny that broods over the land. He would make Republicanism a Reality, and restore Christianity from the Standard of MOSES STUART and ORVILLE DEWFFY to that of JESUS CHRIST. He would erect a government which should protect, first, its weakest members, and regard the sanctity of Property as subordinate to that of Personal Rights. He would bring down from Heaven upon the Earth a Polity such as Sages and Saints in all ages of the world have dreamed of, but died without the sight. A State in which All shall admit and be prepared to defend the Rights of All,

inspired by a conscientious sense of duty to God and Man, by all the highest motives and sanctions of human conduct. The chiefest enemy which opposes this Coming of the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth, in this age and on this Continent, is Chattel Slavery. Therefore the Abolitionist girds himself first to encounter and destroy this Shape of Evil, being assured that its destruction is essential not only to the deliverance of its immediate victims and his own, but to the permanent progression of the Race in every land and in all ages.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Corresponding Secretary.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Account of Receipts into the Treasury of the Mass. Anti-Slavery Society, from January 1, 1852, to January 1, 1853.

From proceeds of Mass. A. S. Bazaar, in Boston, of 1851-2,	\$1,738 34
" " Ladies' A. S. Fair, in Worcester, - - -	321 82
" " Reading A. S. Society, - - - -	13 64
" collections at Annual Meeting, in Boston, - - -	343 38
" " N. E. A. S. Convention, - - - -	459 04
" " Fourth of July celebration, at Abington, -	82 30
" Worcester Co. South A. S. Society, - - - -	8 85
" collections at First of August celebration at Framingham,	85 84
" Nantucket A. S. Society, - - - - -	8 70
" Weymouth Female A. S. Society, - - - -	125 00
" collections by Agents, donations and pledges, during the year, as published in LIBERATOR, - - - -	2,891 66
Total amount of Receipts, - - - -	\$6,078 57
Add balance in Treasury, January 1, 1852,	540 07
Making a total of - - - - -	\$6,618 64

Account of Disbursements during the same period, namely :

Paid Office Rent and Taxes, 21 Cornhill,	- - - -	\$262 38
" Francis Jackson, Treasurer Am. A. S. Society,	- - - -	2,300 00
" Printing 500 copies Annual Report,	- - - -	140 00
" sundry bills for Printing,	- - - -	17 00
" Expenses of Annual Meeting,	- - - -	158 01
" Reporting the Proceedings and Speeches at do.	- - - -	30 00
" 500 copies of "Letter to Kossuth," per order of Board,	- - - -	100 00
" Use of Town Hall, in Beverly, for Lecture,	- - - -	3 00
" Expenses of N. E. A. S. Convention,	- - - -	182 15
" " J. Barker's meeting, at Salem,	- - - -	7 33
" " Fourth of July celebration, at Abington,	- - - -	34 11
" " First of August celebration, at Framingham,	- - - -	38 41
" 50 copies <i>Liberator</i> , for members of Congress,	- - - -	73 50
" Samuel May, Jr., for services as General Agent,	- - - -	749 99
" " " " expenses of Agency during the year,	- - - -	31 39
" Robert F. Wallcut, for services in Office " " "	- - - -	451 77
" Daniel Foster, for services and expenses as Agent,	- - - -	442 98
" Geo. W. Putnam, " " " " " "	- - - -	138 06
" A. J. Grover, " " " " " "	- - - -	198 46
" J. J. Locke, " " " " " "	- - - -	104 45
" Lucy Stone, " " " " " "	- - - -	153 78
" D. S. Whitney, " " " " " "	- - - -	38 55
" Parker Pillsbury, " " " " " "	- - - -	247 70
" Lewis Ford, " " " " " "	- - - -	49 35
" W. H. Fish, " " " " " "	- - - -	39 50
" Chas. C. Burleigh, " " " " " "	- - - -	43 58
" S. S. and A. K. Foster, " " " " " "	- - - -	113 28
" Sallie Holley, " " " " " "	- - - -	85 13
" Wm. L. Garrison, " " " " " "	- - - -	43 00
" C. L. Remond, " " " " " "	- - - -	16 38
" G. B. Stebbins, for services,	- - - -	3 00
" Austin Bearse, " " " " " "	- - - -	3 80

Total amount of Disbursements, - - - \$6,295 02

Balance remaining in Treasury, January 1, 1853, 323 62

\$6,618 64

(E. E.)

S. PHILBRICK,

Treas. Mass. A. S. Society.

BROOKLINE, January 3, 1853.

Boston, January 20, 1853.

I hereby certify, that I have examined this account of the Treasurer, and find it correct, and properly vouched.

EDMUND JACKSON, *Auditor.*

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, BOSTON.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

ANDREW ROBESON, New Bedford.

EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

STILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge.

AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton.

ADIN BALLOU, Milford.

JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield.

JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton.

EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester.

JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield.

OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket.

HENRY I. BOWDITCH, Boston.

JOSIAH HENSHAW, West Brookfield.

CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth.

BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg.

GEORGE MILES, Westminster.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, Lynn.

CYRUS PEIRCE, Newton.

JOHN T. HILTON, Brighton.

THOMAS T. STONE, Bolton.

BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth.

WILLIAM ASHEY, Newburyport.

JOHN BAILEY, Lynn.

CHARLES F. HOVEY, Boston.

J. S. STAFFORD, Cummington.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge.

RICHARD CLAP, Dorchester.

WILLIAM WHITING, Concord.

A. A. BENT, Gardner.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

EDMUND QUINCY, DEDHAM.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, BOSTON.

TREASURER.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, BROOKLINE.

AUDITOR.

EDMUND JACKSON, BOSTON.

COUNSELLORS.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

CORNELIUS BRAMHALL.

ELIZA LEE FOLLEN.

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

JOHN ROGERS.

ANNE W. WESTON.

JOHN M. SPEAR.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

JOHN T. SARCENT.

A P P E N D I X .

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in Boston, at the Melodeon, on Wednesday, January 26, 1853, and, by adjournment, on the Thursday and Friday following.

At 11 o'clock, on Wednesday morning, the Society was called to order by FRANCIS JACKSON, the President.

Voted, To proceed to the usual organization of the Annual Meeting.

Voted, That SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Boston, JOSHUA PERRY, of Hanson, and MRS. DORA M. TAFT, of Framingham, be a Committee to nominate to this meeting the usual Committees on Business, on Finance, and on the Officers of the Society for the year ensuing, and also Assistant Secretaries of the Annual Meeting.

This Committee subsequently reported as follows : —

Business Committee — WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, PARKER PILLSBURY, ABBY KELLY FOSTER, SALLIE HOLLEY, DANIEL FOSTER, ANDREW T. FOSS.

Finance Committee — JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn; LEWIS FORD, of Abington; JOSHUA T. EVERETT, of Princeton; ELBRIDGE SPRAGUE, of Abington; and WILLIAM C. NELL, of Boston.

Assistant Secretaries — SAMUEL MAY, Jr., of Boston, and JOSEPH J. LOCKE, of Haverhill.

This report was accepted, and the individuals named were accordingly elected; and the Committee had leave to report, at a future meeting, a Committee on the Officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The President then stated that opportunity would now be had for prayer, either silent or audible. Prayer was offered by JOHN RAND, of Milton.

SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Treasurer, presented his Annual Report, which had been duly examined by the Auditor, EDMUND JACKSON, and certified to be correct. The report showed the entire receipts of 1852, to be \$6,618.64. Expenditures, \$6,295.02. Balance in the Treasury, Jan. 1, 1853, \$323.62.

The Treasurer's Report was unanimously accepted, and ordered to be published with the Annual Report and Proceedings.

EDMUND QUINCY, on behalf of the Board of Managers, then presented their Annual Report; the reading of a considerable part of which occupied the remainder of the morning session.

WEDNESDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President in the Chair.

The following letter from Rev. SAMUEL JOHNSON, of Salem, (now temporarily at Brooklyn, N. Y.,) to the Committee of Arrangements, was read by the Secretary:—

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Jan. 22, 1853.

Rev. S. MAY, Jr.

My Dear Sir—Obliged to be out of the neighborhood of Boston, I shall be unable to attend the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society during the coming week; but it would be doing great injustice to myself, to fail of responding most cordially to the invitation extended me by the Managers, to be with you on that occasion. I need not say that the Convention will have my thorough sympathy, and that if any word or act in my power can help to swell their blast of judgment against tyranny and time-serving, it shall not be wanting. I hold the *radical* protest to be the only right and sufficient one—the only protest which is just alike to the present and the future. What seems to the hardened ears and blinded eyes of this infatuated nation the very frenzy of fanaticism, is the afflatus of a prophecy beyond the chances of mistake; and the Abolitionists, above all others, are the men and women who can afford to suffer and to wait.

"Weak and failing as I may be," said MARTIN LUTHER, "small as may be the sound I can make this world hear, my voice rings in the ears of the angels, who shall take up the strain after us, and repeat the solemn call." One we know, who, standing less than LUTHER in the strength of human aid,—when he lifted to his lips the warning trumpet of this reform, could plainly affirm that he "meant to be heard, and that *posterity*, at least, would say that he was right." Upon the predictions of senates and parties, the surprises of laws unallowed for and condemned are sprung of a sudden, and they fall discomfited and dead. The Individual it is, standing *alone* and *free*, who speaks with that authority which the future is bound to approve.

Fast and firm in these latter times stands the tribunal of Individual Manhood, of private inspiration. It annuls the unrighteous judgments; and its decisions can no more be permitted to fall unheard through the noise of the multitude, than its presence can be sneered off to the "third heavens" from this earth which is the Lord's. This fortress in the conscience will pile its strong towers steadily upwards, even out of the public calamities that seem

impending. The more desperate the condition of our national affairs, and the more hollow the watchman's cry of our apostate churches through the night, the more surely must that word be working, whose present purpose is not to form States and churches, but to draw us, *one by one*, out of the hopeless coil of the organizations, and make us living and true. Whatever must perish in the process, this is the ultimate gain which all loss *must* go to swell. The nation that undertakes to put the righteous under foot, and lift up the base and profligate to stand for heroes and saints, must go to destruction, as of old; for the spring winds and flowers of a fresh opportunity must stir above its desolation. But when, on the high road to this consummation, like Atheist in the allegory, it strides across the straight way of the conscience, then is it that we come to our senses, and learn, — what it is infinitely better for States and churches to teach by their downfall than hide by their strength, — that man is greater than the Temple or the Law. It will take more than a Kossuth to convince us, in the face of these solemn lessons of history, that to be a *patriot* merely, is the holiest or the wisest of aims. And, it may be added, it will take more intellect than a thousand WEBSTERS can bring to the argument, to prove *one single interest* humanity can have in our bowing our free shoulders to uphold the ark of a National Union — which is not lightened by the uplifted wings of cherubim, but would bear us down upon our faces under the dead weight of the heathen's calves of gold.

The strength of the Anti-Slavery Movement, — its identity with the purposes of all science, all philosophy, all art, all worship, — lies in this — that its protest is in the name of the individual, his rights, his duties, his inspiration. These celestial forms of human thought and labor can only be initiated by a race of men and women who have learned that the liberty of masses and majorities is spurious, and that a legitimate community can be made out of those only who know how to stand for truth against the world.

It is thus that the advent of the better day is invested with a pathos which solemnizes our thoughts and deeds. The sorrow of the Slave unseals our eyes. That knowledge of the might of conscience which the eloquence of pulpit, bar, and forum was too listless and too faithless to inspire, starts into life at this dumb pleading of agony and despair. *The Dragon's teeth are sown in the track of the hunted fugitive*, and they will yet make our soil alive with men and women, mailed in the panoply of God.

Yours for the Slave,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

This letter was listened to with deep interest, and on motion of S. MAY, Jr., seconded by E. QUINCY, it was

Voted, That it be printed with the proceedings.

EDMUND QUINCY said that the letter just read explained the whole philosophy, unfolded the entire mystery of the Anti-Slavery Movement. It shows why we have met here year after year, for twenty years, and continue to meet, — why we have expended, as seems to many fruitlessly, so much valuable time, hazarded social position, and suffered perhaps in regard to

worldly prosperity and success, as these are usually regarded. It is because we felt that the Slave is a man, entitled before God to all the rights and privileges of a human being; and that any and all institutions based upon his enslavement are unjust, fraudulent, never to be tolerated, never to be allowed to rest in peace. And never was the Anti-Slavery cause more active and influential than now. Its hand has been manifest in every part of the national history for the past fifteen years. It was dread of its progress which led the Slaveholders into Texas annexation, and into war with Mexico for new territory, and to do all those other atrocious things, for its own enlargement and strengthening, which have stamped it before all the world as the villainy which it is; and which shall yet sink it in the infamy and ruin it deserves. The birth and growth of the Free Soil party are to be traced to the Anti-Slavery agitation, and it is only through the moral agitation thus kept up, that that party can hope to continue to increase. Twenty years ago, who thought of questioning the Christianity of the American church? Now, we find everywhere a body of men and women who have left these churches, and left them for their sins and their falseness to God and man. Did *we* make the DEWEYS and SHARPS, the BARRETTES, the COXES, the SPENCERS, the LORDS, the SPRINGS? No, verily. But we brought about a state of things which made their development and exposure inevitable, and compelled them to bring to the light the evil which was in them. And is this a worse state of things than existed before, when Slavery was safe and strong, and all parties, State and Church, quietly acquiesced in all its claims? No, Sir. When men bestir themselves, wage war, and strive to strengthen their position, it shows that they feel they are weak and in danger.

The discussion of the afternoon was continued by STEPHEN S. FOSTER, AMOS WATROUS, of Connecticut, ABBY KELLY FOSTER, MRS. REDLON, Mr. TITCOMB, and Mr. FORD.

CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem, said the colored people are in a position to form a pretty just and definite opinion as to the progress of the cause. He thought *their complexion* gave them a fair and true criterion of the public sentiment. And, said he, I may speak for the colored people of New England, at least, when I say, *We feel encouraged*. We were encouraged by the JERRY rescue, at Syracuse; by the death of Slaveholders at Christiana; and we are encouraged by the deaths of CALHOUN, CLAY, and WEBSTER, that trio of defenders of Slavery. All these things are helping forward the triumph of freedom.

WEDNESDAY — EVENING SESSION.

The Chair was taken by ANDREW ROBESON, of New Bedford, one of the Vice Presidents.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution: —

1. *Resolved*, That whoever maintains the rightfulness of Slaveholding is a

self-convicted hypocrite; for the law of liberty, which God has stamped upon his soul, renders insupportable the thought of his own enslavement, and thereby convicts him of the foulest injustice in consenting to a similar debasement of any of the human race.

C. L. REMOND, in a brief speech, supported the resolution. He thought it should not require many words to demonstrate its truthfulness to the American people, because it was a self-evident proposition; but he hoped the audience would vote for it, and exemplify their belief in it by their conduct from time to time. Many, no doubt, would be slow to admit its truthfulness; but he thought it strange that there should be one man in the country to dispute it, when the evidences of its truth were so abundant and overwhelming. He expressed his conviction that one of the strongest reasons for the growth of American Slavery to its present magnitude would be found in the theoretical education of the people on this subject; they were taught to believe that there was no inconsistency between the professions and practice of this guilty nation. In illustration of this point, Mr. REMOND related the anecdote of the young American who was boasting in public, that in his country a man could "say what he pleased, write what he pleased, and do what he pleased," when he was interrupted by a Frenchman standing by, who quietly observed that that was probably true, *provided he happened to be of a certain complexion*. There had been times when he was ready to despair for his brethren in this land, believing that they were cowards, inasmuch as they did not engage in a struggle for their rights and liberty, preferring to die rather than live longer in this country, surrounded by all the evils and persecutions which beset them. But this time had gone by, and he looked more hopefully towards the future, believing that the American people would yet see the inconsistency and hypocrisy of their position, and do tardy justice to the Slave.

PARKER PILLSBURY, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

2. *Resolved*, That the Anti-Slavery enterprise is more than a crusade, moral or political, against Slavery-extension, by purchase of territory, or by seizing it in wars of conquest;—it is more than a vindication of the right of speech, of the press, or of locomotion;—it is more than a controversy about the constitutionality of Fugitive Slave Laws, or the writ of habeas corpus, or the right of jury trial for fugitive Slaves;—it is an open, direct, exterminating, and everlasting warfare against the doctrine, that man ever, under any possible or conceivable circumstances, can be made the goods and chattels of his fellow-man.

3. *Resolved*, That, however much we may rejoice in the change of public sentiment as it appears in the refusal on the part of the people to execute the Fugitive Slave Law in so many places in the North, or to visit its penalties on those who resist it, even though they take the life of the kidnapper, and as also appears in the refusal to nominate for the Presidency those who had been most active in securing its passage, and as further appears in the occasional triumphs of the Free Soil party, still we must never forget that all these are but the results of our faithful and inflexible adherence to our original and fundamental principles, and that it is only by continuing thus faithful that we can hope to witness still greater results, and the final emancipation of every Slave.

Mr. PILLSBURY supported the resolutions in an earnest and powerful speech, showing that the argument of Mr. SUMNER was based upon a false and rotten foundation, and that to go back to the principles of the fathers was but to return to the starting point from which all the evils of our present position had naturally and inevitably resulted. He said Slavery was a spontaneous production in this country, and existed because it could not help existing in the present state of society. He thought the Free Soil party had lost in principle as it had gained in numbers. In his opinion, WEBSTER's fall was not so deplorable as that of CHARLES SUMNER. One fell like an old oak that had braved the tempest for a thousand years, and shook the earth by its fall; the other, like a vigorous and thrifty tree, shivered by a single stroke of lightning. CHARLES SUMNER at home, and in *Faneuil Hall*, as a private gentleman, was one thing — as a United States Senator, another. The effect of WEBSTER's Seventh of March speech was not so injurious as that of SUMNER's first and last speech in the Senate, and had less effect in fastening the chains of the Slaves. The former served to shock the public mind, and to create a wide-spread agitation favorable to the Anti-Slavery movement; but the latter had operated like an opiate, though equally unsound in principle.

CHARLES SUMNER had eulogized WASHINGTON as an illustrious example, touching the question of Slavery. But WASHINGTON was the signer of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, (which did not differ essentially from that of 1850,) and the first to hunt a fugitive under it — though, for very shame, he was unwilling to create a riot in recovering his runaway "property;" for, like the Scribes and Pharisees of old, concerning the arrest of Jesus, he "feared the people." Besides, he was a Slaveholder all his life long, and provided for the emancipation of his Slaves only after the death of his widow, having no children to bequeath them to for an inheritance. Now have the Free Soil party no better business than electing men to find apologies for kidnapping? Why, they can hire ministers for a quarter of the expense. We have a hundred here in Boston, who will volunteer for the service. SUMNER speaks of WASHINGTON as being in heaven, and yet he was a Slaveholder and Slavehunter. The speaker thought the pirate on the high seas might as well go to heaven as he, if he only quits his plundering when he can follow it no longer.

A gentleman whose name was not announced, said he thought the declaration of Mr. PILLSBURY, in regard to Boston clergymen, was unjust, and some of them could not be bought so cheaply as represented.

Mr. PILLSBURY said he believed that one preacher, THEODORE PARKER, had never apologized for kidnappers, but he had done almost as bad, he had apologized for Mr. SUMNER. [Laughter.]

The President reminded the audience that the Anti-Slavery platform is alike free to the friends and opponents of the cause.

S. S. FOSTER urged Free Soilers present, or any of the political supporters of Hon. CHARLES SUMNER, to come forward, and let us see how this subject appears to the mind of a Free Soiler.

C. L. REMOND hoped that no special invitation to speak would be given to

any one present. He believed that, at this day, everybody knew that our platform was free, and that any candid and well-behaved person would be welcomed to it.

P. PILLSBURY again rose to say that, in making his remarks upon Senator SUMNER, it was no part of his intention to draw Free Soilers into a discussion, though he should be well pleased if that effect were produced. But in his progress through different parts of New England, the past three months, he had witnessed a great decline of Anti-Slavery interest, even among the Anti-Slavery people; and he knew not to what cause to ascribe it, if not to the influence of Mr. SUMNER's speech, and others like it, and to the quiet acquiescence of the Free Soil men in the over-cautious policy of their leaders.

S. S. FOSTER commented on the course of some of the Free Soil politicians. How few of them have done as JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS has done, who has gone over his district, from town to town, the moment he was released from Congress, and spread the whole subject before the people. Not so with SUMNER, MANN, and others. CHARLES ALLEN was sent to Congress from Worcester County by a great majority. He did but little there, and the people's interest cooled, and at the next term, he failed of a re-election. And it was not until he had come forward and publicly withstood DANIEL WEBSTER's Pro-Slavery course, that the public interest revived, and elected him for a second term.

LYSANDER SPOONER defended Mr. ALLEN of Worcester from Mr. FOSTER's remarks, and ascribed his long silence at Washington to ill health.

Mr. FOSTER replied that he had not spoken of the reasons for Mr. A.'s silence — but only of the fact. So, he said HORACE MANN might have been elected Governor of the State, if he had conferred more freely with the people.

A stranger inquired if S. S. FOSTER had lifted a finger to help Mr. MANN to be Governor?

Mr. FOSTER said he could reply most triumphantly to the gentleman's question; and he could say, that he had done ten times more to help Mr. MANN's election, than the gentleman making the inquiry had done, provided he is a member of the Free Soil party. Is it not a fact, inquired Mr. F., that where the uncompromising Anti-Slavery lecturers have worked most thoroughly, there the Free Soil party has reaped its richest harvest? Every one knows it is so.

THURSDAY — MORNING SESSION.

Met according to adjournment, at the Melodeon; FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

4. *Resolved*, That the declaration, "Slavery is sectional and Freedom na-

tional," is — first, in direct opposition to the historical and actual facts of the case; and, secondly, a distinction equally absurd and impracticable.

5. *Resolved*, That with three millions and a half of Slaves crouching beneath the American flag, to whom no protection is given either by the laws of the land or by local statute; who can make no appeal to the United States Constitution for any right or privilege whatsoever, but are doomed by its guaranties to be reckoned as three-fifths of human beings to augment the political power of their tyrannical owners, — to be hunted as wild beasts through all the land if they shall seek to regain their freedom by flight, — and to be massacred whenever they shall attempt to break their chains by revolt; whose numbers may be increased indefinitely, subject to no limitation by Congress, and whose posterity is fated to run the same horrible career of chattel servitude; — to talk of Slavery as sectional and Freedom as national, is to outrage common sense, and to give an opiate to the consciences of a people "laden with iniquity."

6. *Resolved*, That with more than one half of our national territory cultivated by Slave labor; with fifteen States of the Union directly interested in the breeding, buying, selling, and working of Slaves; with the right conceded to any and every one of the States, at its own sovereign pleasure, to introduce and perpetuate Slavery within its own limits; with nine Slaveholding States already added to the original number; with the Slave Power exercising absolute sway over the manners and morals, the religion and politics of the country; to affirm that Slavery is sectional and Freedom national is a terrible satire upon the very name of republicanism.

7. *Resolved*, That the exact and sober truth is, that Slavery is national, and Freedom nowhere; that no man in this country can exercise Freedom of speech and of the press, irrespective of geographical distinctions, any more than in Austria or Russia; that we are all living under a bloody and exterminating despotism; that we have no common country for freemen, but only for those who forge the chain and wield the lash; and that as great a revolution is needed here, to secure individual liberty, as in tyrant-ridden Europe.

8. *Resolved*, That as there are no elements in the universe more antagonistical to each other than Liberty and Slavery, it is as plain a proposition as can be submitted to the human understanding, that either Liberty or Slavery must rule the land; that they cannot co-exist on the same soil, among the same people, and under the same government; that Freemen and Slaveholders cannot legislate together, nor enter into "solemn league and covenant" with each other; therefore,

9. *Resolved*, That the American Union, authorizing as it does the traffic in human flesh to an enormous extent, and making the Slave system its peculiar, distinctive, and all-controlling institution, is an experiment of madmen to make fire and gunpowder coalesce — is simply a deceptive term for THE SLAVE POWER, everywhere making justice, humanity, religion, subservient to its fiendish designs — and, consequently, is not to be honored or preserved, but is to be execrated and assailed, in the name of the great God, of Christ the redeemer, and of Man the sufferer, until not one stone of it is left upon another, and until upon its ruins is erected a glorious temple of freedom for all, without regard to complexion, clime, or race.

10. *Resolved*, That while, on the ground of principle, we are compelled to take the position of Disunionists, we at the same time claim to be the true and only consistent friends of law and order, of government and union, in the absolute signification of those terms; and maintain that they are the disorganizers and anarchists of the day, who are for perpetuating their "covenant with death and their agreement with hell," miscalled the American Union: — the heaven-wide and everlasting distinction between them and ourselves being this — that while they are for preserving a government which outlaws and enslaves every sixth person under it, and nourishes a system which admits of no arraignment or examination, except under the

penalties of Lynch law, we are for a government which shall render the monstrous crime of Slavoholding an impossible act, and enable every man to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest or make afraid.

P. PILLSBURY spoke in support of these resolutions. In the course of his remarks, he related several cases, with which he had become acquainted during the past eight or ten months, in Ohio, Michigan, and New England, of men of all parties — Whigs and Democrats as well as others — who abhorred the Fugitive Slave Law, and refused all solicitations and even bribes to give it their active support.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., introduced the following : —

Resolved, That the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause here present be, and they hereby are, requested to contribute each the sum of one dollar (or such other sum as they may feel able) towards the expenses of this Annual Meeting, and the further aid of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. GARRISON read, from recent Southern Journals, incidents in Slavoholding life, illustrating the outrages suffered by the victims of Slavery. He also referred to the late Anti-Slavery Meeting, in Belfast, Ireland, and read a portion of an address to Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, written by Rev. Dr. EDGAR, and adopted by said meeting.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions : —

11. *Resolved*, That ever since Slavery has been in our guilty land, its heart-broken and fettered victims have been making their mute appeals to the American Church for succor and deliverance ; but, instead of coming up to their rescue in the name of the Lord God and his anointed Son, it has perseveringly and impiously consented to their enslavement, entered into the purchase and ownership of their bodies and souls, and boldly justified this high-handed villainy from the Scriptures, as divinely authorised.

12. *Resolved*, That for more than a score of years, the American Church has scornfully and maliciously resisted all the admonitions, and warnings, and appeals of the friends and advocates of the enslaved ; closed its doors against them, while opening them to the apologists and defenders of Slavery as a Bible institution ; and actively exerted all her power to crush all sympathy for "those who are drawn unto death and ready to be slain ;" therefore,

13. *Resolved*, That, thoroughly steeped in blood and pollution as that Church is, it becomes us to turn from it with loathing and abhorrence — to waste no time in attempts to bring it to repentance — but to call upon all the friends of God and man, irrespective of religious professions, to rally for the utter and eternal overthrow of American Slavery.

Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, of Manchester, N. H., gave his hearty support to the resolutions just read. He recounted his experience as a Baptist minister for twenty years past, and his endeavors to induce the various Baptist bodies to take an Anti-Slavery position. He said that the hope he had long entertained, that the churches would take up and carry on the Anti-Slavery work, had now entirely died within him, and was gone forever ! He made a very thrilling speech.

Mr. TITCOMB, of Boston, thought the want of success in reforming the church was caused by not letting women speak and enjoy equal privileges.

Mr. FOSS thought there would be more prospect of reforming the church, if women had more voice in its government.

JOHN C. CLUEN, (of Scotland,) alluded to the Pro-Slavery cry in this country against all those persons in Great Britain and Ireland, who speak for the American Slave. He (Mr. C.) could testify, that the persons in England, &c., who espouse the Anti-Slavery cause, are the very ones who are both speaking and acting effectually for the poor, ignorant, and oppressed classes at home. And every *Pro-Slavery* press in England, and all those who excuse and defend the American Slave system, are *Tory* in their politics and nature, and engaged in keeping down the industrial classes of every description at home. [Hear, hear.]

See, too, said Mr. C., how the Pro-Slavery men of Boston are bowing and cringing to THOMAS F. MEAGHER! The very men who seized THOMAS SIMS and sent him into Georgia Slavery, now join to feast and compliment the patriot MEAGHER, and tell of their love of liberty, and their sympathy with oppressed and struggling Ireland. But let T. F. MEAGHER come into this meeting, and make one *Anti-Slavery* speech, and he has had the last reception, and the last compliments, that he will ever receive from these men. Mr. C. said he could testify, with regard to Dr. EDGAR of Belfast, and others whom Mr. GARRISON had quoted, that they are and have been long the open and prominent friends of every effort to elevate and benefit the needy and suffering around them. His remarks were very pertinent, and ably vindicated the spirit of philanthropy and reform on both sides of the Atlantic.

THURSDAY—AFTERNOON SESSION.

F. JACKSON, President, in the Chair.

The three resolutions relating to the Church were read.

Elder HIRAM HUTCHINS, of Charlestown, of the Baptist denomination, said he put himself in the place of a Slave, who felt his degradation and wrongs, who should go to the Church's door and pray for their sympathy and help, and be sent empty away. In such a case, said Mr. H., I should say, as I must say, *they are not of Christ*; this would be a matter of consciousness, which their very position would demonstrate to me. Now this is the very position of the great majority of the American churches. He next spoke of the various Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, and said they all forget, neglect, and help to oppress, the Slave; they ignore the great foundation principle of *human brotherhood*, and, being without that great and vital principle of genuine religion, how can they be the representatives of God, as they pretend and claim to be?

W. L. GARRISON asked, Who are meant by the American Church? We have no one body organized and known as such. We mean those numerous sects—some of them large and powerful—styled Presbyterian, Baptist,

Methodist, Congregational, Episcopalian, &c., &c. The editor of the (Methodist) *Christian Advocate*, Rev. Dr. BOND, when giving an account of the Methodist Conference in Boston last May,—that very conference which went in a body to Faneuil Hall, to be addressed and complimented by that great, bad man, DANIEL WEBSTER!—said that the harmony of the Conference was only once disturbed, (alluding to the introduction of the question of Slavery,) and then the good sense and Christian forbearance of the brethren immediately arrested the *unprofitable discussion* (!) and restored good feeling. This he said to please and quiet the South.

A Bible distributor asked a group of colored men in New Orleans if they did not want a Bible? These men were Slaves—property. Their proprietor saw the act, and caused the Bible-agent to be arrested and brought to trial. Before the Court it was declared, by those who employed the agent, that it was a *mistake*, and never intended on their part. The agent was released, but only upon assurance being given that the same should not occur again.

In connection with this fact, Mr. GARRISON commented on the case of the MADIAT family, imprisoned in Florence for having a Protestant Bible in their possession; and particularly the outcry raised in New York, and other parts of this country, against the Papal government for its persecution of this family, and the demand made upon our Government to interfere for their relief. He contrasted the excitement in this case,—the indignation of the Rev. Dr. BETHUNE, Dr. COX, and others,—with the perfect indifference with which the New Orleans Bible case was received everywhere. Whatever the Pope may be doing in Italy, it is certain that the Church in this country is refusing the Bible to more than three million Slaves in it,—to a sixth part of its population, and taking from them the ability to read it, if they had it.

It is against such a church,—the church which does these things,—that we array ourselves. Call it by what name you please, it is an oppressive, cruel, and hypocritical church, which is the foe of God and man, and which must inevitably be overthrown.

Rev. A. T. FOSS said that, some years since, when the American Bible Society voted to place the Bible, within five years, in every family in the land, the American and Foreign Bible Society, (Baptist,) not to be behind in so good a work, voted to do its part to the same end. Rev. ABEL BROWN, in that meeting, inquired whether the Slaves at the South were contemplated in this arrangement. The moment the inquiry was made, shouts of “*Order! order! order!*” came from every part of the house. Rev. Dr. CONE, the presiding officer, rose greatly excited, and in a loud voice said, “Sit down, Mr. BROWN! you are out of order!” The meeting before was greatly moved,—much sobbing and crying; but every tear was dried when Mr. BROWN asked his impertinent and troublesome (?) question, and great indignation was expressed in every direction.

Mr. INNIS, of Salem, introduced a man to the meeting, who represented himself as a fugitive Slave, and desired to obtain money for the purchase of his children.

Mrs. FOSTER protested against taking the money of the Abolitionists to buy Slaves; they have a higher work to do, in which few will aid them. The Anti-Slavery Agitation has created a very extensive outside feeling, which is occasionally disposed to contribute to the purchase of individuals, though it will do nothing against the Slave system. If the friend just referred to will come to Worcester, — or if that other friend of whom Mr. CHARRISON told us this morning, who has a wife and three children in Alabama, will come, — I will put him in a way to get one hundred dollars, I doubt not, from persons in that city, who do little or nothing to sustain the Anti-Slavery agitation.

PARKER PILLSBURY protested against bringing the Slave trade, foreign or domestic, into this meeting.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY — EVENING SESSION.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, one of the Vice Presidents, called to order.

WENDELL PHILLIPS came forward, and was received with loud cheering. He presented, from the Business Committee, the following resolutions: —

14. *Resolved*, That the object of this Society is now, as it has always been, to convince our countrymen, by arguments addressed to their hearts and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime, and that the duty, safety, and interest of all concerned, demand its immediate abolition, without expiation.

15. *Resolved*, That since "the evil that men do lives after them," and because dread of the verdict that history will record against them is one of the strongest holds we have on unscrupulous leaders, it is the imperative duty of all good men to put aside the fear of man and all false delicacy, and utter frankly their deliberate and grave disapprobation, even over the graves of those who have misused high station, and prostituted great talents to the injury of mankind; that this is a duty which men in the position of the Abolitionists most especially owe to historic truth, to justice, to humanity, and the Slave; and their well known fidelity to it is one source of the power they wield, as well as of the odium which they incur.

16. *Resolved*, That in the death of WEBSTER, CLAY, and CALHOUN, we hail the removal of three great obstacles to freedom of thought and the Anti-Slavery cause; and men being no longer chilled by the shadow of their baleful names, we may reasonably hope for humaner counsels in the nation, and a more patient hearing, at least, for better men.

17. *Resolved*, That, in our opinion, their constant and systematic sacrifice, life-long and on all occasions, of justice and humanity, the plainest principles of law, the most vital provisions of our National Constitution, and the welfare of three millions of human beings, to their own selfish ambition and the demands of the Slave Power; their scoffs at the sacredness of individual conscience and God's Law — their sneers or bitter opposition at every effort to rouse this nation to mercy and justice — made their influence and lives a curse to the country, and marked them the foes not only of the Slave, but of this experiment of self-government, and of republican liberty and human progress the world over.

18. *Resolved*, That we do not look upon Mr. WEBSTER's speech on the seventh of March, 1850, as the fall of a man before that loved and trusted; but, on the contrary, we know no hour of his life when the Abolitionists

placed the least confidence in him, and no Anti-Slavery word he ever uttered, which we did not feel at the time, to be mere empty rhetoric, or a clumsy attempt to make gain out of the generous impulses of better men than himself.

Mr. PHILLIPS spoke during the remainder of the evening session, principally to the fourteenth resolution. [This speech was phonographically reported, and is given in the Appendix.]

FRIDAY — MORNING SESSION.

Met again in the Melodeon, FRANCIS JACKSON in the Chair.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., from the Committee on the Organization of the Annual Meeting, reported the following as a committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year, and they were elected as such : —

EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham ; STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester ; WM. ASHBY, of Newburyport ; JOSHUA PERRY, of Hanson ; EZEKIEL THATCHER, of Barnstable ; WILLIAM WHITING, of Concord ; ELIZA J. KENNY, of Salem ; PAULINA J. GERRY, of Stonham ; E. D. DRAPER, of Milford ; STILLMAN SMITH, of Norton.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions : —

19. *Resolved*, That in behalf of the millions enslaved on our soil, this Society gratefully acknowledges the aid rendered to their cause by their transatlantic friends, in public meetings assembled, in Bristol, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Belfast, and many other places — and by various addresses from large bodies of philanthropic men and women in the old world, appealing to all Christians in the United States, in the name of a common Christianity, to wash their hands of all participation in the awful crime of Slaveholding.

20. *Resolved*, That as an auxiliary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, this Society gratefully proffers its heartfelt acknowledgements to those philanthropic friends of the Slave in England, Scotland, and Ireland, whose beautiful and munificent contributions to the late National Anti-Slavery Bazaar in Boston added so much to its value, elegance, and productiveness — as well as to all those in this country, who co-operated in the same beneficent work for the same glorious end.

21. *Resolved*, That we hail the appearance of a new periodical in England, entitled "*The Anti-Slavery Advocate*" — designed as it is to disseminate accurate intelligence of the workings of the Slave system in America, and to lay before the people of that country correct reports of the aims, purposes, and labors of the American Anti-Slavery Society ; especially in view of the shameful fact that, for the last twelve years, the very existence of that Society has been ignored in the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, or, if ever alluded to, then only for the purpose of giving it a deadly sectarian stab, as unworthy of the confidence and support of a religious people !

22. *Resolved*, That our acknowledgments and warmest thanks are due to the *Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society* for the thorough and masterly exposure, made in their recent Report, of the narrow policy and sectarian spirit of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, as exhibited in the almost total suppression, in their publications, of all information relating to the American Anti-Slavery Society and its operations, — in constant but

secret aspersions of the members and friends of that Society, at home and abroad ; — and in underhanded efforts to disparage and injure, in the estimate of the British public, even those fugitive Slaves whom necessity and danger have driven to British soil, and who have there dared to express their gratitude and friendship to any of those men and women, connected with the American A. S. Society, who have protected them, and aided them in their perilous flight.

These resolutions were advocated by JAMES LOW, of England.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH showed that, under our present Constitution and form of government, we are inextricably linked to the support of Slavery. Mr. BURLEIGH's argument was very close and able. [It is hoped that he will write it out for publication.]

The following resolutions were reported from the Business Committee, by Mr. GARRISON : —

23. *Resolved*, That, in regard to the Colonization enterprise, we make no issue on any of the following points — whether Africa ought not to be reclaimed from barbarism and idolatry ; nor whether black missionaries are not better adapted to its climate than white ones ; nor whether it is wrong to assist voluntary emigration to the shores of that continent ; nor whether the Slave trade has not been crippled, or driven from their localities by the colonies already established ; nor whether the settlement at Liberia has not attained, in the same period, as high a position as did the Plymouth or Jamestown colony ; nor whether the condition of the free colored people in this land is not one of great hardship, and surrounded by many afflicting circumstances ; nor whether, to those who are held in bondage, exile with penniless freedom is not preferable to a life of chattelized servitude ; but it is, what are the doctrines, designs, and measures of the American Colonization Society, and is it worthy of the countenance and support of a civilized and Christian people ?

24. *Resolved*, That we abhor and repudiate the Colonization Society for the following among other reasons : — (1.) Because it sanctions the infernal doctrine, that man can rightfully hold property in his fellow-man — (2.) Because it is managed and controlled by Slaveholders, whose aim is to give quietude, security, and value to the Slave system, by the removal of the free blacks — (3.) Because it declares the leprous spirit of complexional prejudice is natural, and not to be removed even by the operations of the Holy Ghost upon the heart — (4.) Because it is the bitter, malignant, and active enemy of the Anti-Slavery enterprise — (5.) Because it stimulates and sanctions the enactment of soul-crushing laws and proscriptive edicts against our free colored population, under the pressure of which they shall find it impossible to stand erect on this their native soil, and may therefore be induced to emigrate to Africa — (6.) Because the motives it avows, the sentiments it inculcates, the means it uses, the measures it sanctions, are base, cruel, demoniacal — and, (7.) Because, from its institution to the present time, the objects of its professed commiseration have unceasingly borne the strongest testimony against it as uncalled for, hateful, persecuting, and unnatural.

Mr. GARRISON said, it is not the colored man, so long as he can be held as a Slave, however ignorant and degraded he may be, whom the Colonization Society wishes to send away. No ! Slaveholders have no difficulty or prejudice on the score of complexion. When their Slaves run away, they run after them, and take infinite pains to get them back ; and we help them,

and make Fugitive Laws for their advantage. There is no insuperable prejudice of color, under those circumstances, making it necessary to transport the colored man to Africa. It is the free, educated, gentlemanly, and Christian colored man whom this country hates, will not tolerate, and seeks to banish from its soil.

Rev. A. T. Foss said he had derived from Rev. Mr. CONSTANTINE, once a missionary at Liberia, some reliable information concerning that colony, as it was a few years ago. From that information, he found that the colony had knowingly countenanced and aided the African Slave Trade. (Hear.) This was formerly the case; if it be not so now, it is because the Anti-Slavery stir in this country has compelled them to be more cautious. If the traffic had ceased, it was not owing to any voluntary movement on the part of the Colonization Society, but to the fact that the exposure of their wickedness compelled them to move.

Mr. GARRISON commented on EDWARD EVERETT's recent statement, that neither of the early colonies at Jamestown and Plymouth, at the end of twenty-five years, had attained so strong and favorable a position as Liberia had gained, in an equal time, among the family of nations. What a compliment this, said Mr. G., to the capacity of the colored man! We have been used to regard our ancestors as picked men; but, by Mr. EVERETT's showing, it would seem these Liberia colonists are decidedly their superiors.

EDMUND QUINCY, from the Committee on that subject, reported a list of Officers of the Society for the current year.

The report was unanimously accepted, and the Officers elected accordingly. [See the list in another place.]

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., brought the case of DANIEL KAUFFMAN, of Pennsylvania, before the meeting. For allowing some fugitive Slaves to pass a night in his barn, and giving them food, Mr. K. has been fined by the notorious Judge GRIER, of the U. S. Supreme Court, and stripped of all his property.

Mr. GARRISON again brought forward the case of PETER STILL.

FRIDAY — AFTERNOON SESSION.

FRANCIS JACKSON, the President, in the Chair.

THOMAS HASKELL, of Gloucester, made some brief, but pertinent remarks.

GEORGE W. PUTNAM, of Lynn, spoke on the influence the old organized societies have had in keeping alive the Anti-Slavery movement in the land; a movement without which, the Free Soil party could have had no existence, and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" would have had only tens of readers, where now it has tens of thousands. Mr. P. advocated the publication of a new series of cheap tracts for gratuitous distribution.

LEWIS FORD, of Abington, spoke with regard to contributions to the Society for its operations during the present year.

DANIEL FOSTER, of Cambridge, continued the subject, and presented many encouraging features of the cause, which had occurred in his experience during the last eight months.

Rev. T. W. HIGGINSON, of Worcester, spoke in favor of the most thorough agitation of the community on the subject of Slavery, and according to the principles and methods of this Society;—while he declared himself to be a member of the Free Democratic party.

Mr. GARRISON, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

25. *Resolved*, That the recent act of a large majority of the U. S. Senate, proscribing Messrs. HALE, SUMNER, and CHASE from all the Committees in that body, on the ground of their not belonging to any "healthy political organization,"—meaning, that they are not connected with either the Whig or the Democratic party, and are opposed to "the Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law,"—is unparalleled for meanness and baseness in the history of political legislation, as gross an insult as was ever offered to honorable men, an act of daring usurpation, and a precedent of a most alarming nature, which, if tamely submitted to, foreshadows, with other admonitory events of the time, the ultimate establishment of a military despotism over the whole country.

26. *Resolved*, That while the Pro-Slavery servility of one of the Senators from this Commonwealth made him shrink from registering a manly testimony against this dastardly and tyrannous act, in the name of the sovereign State of Massachusetts which he was sent to Congress faithfully to represent, we had a right to expect, from the Anti-Slavery professions and position of the other Senator, (the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER,) who was one of the proscribed, something more than a dumb and an inglorious silence on that occasion; and yet, no sound was heard from his lips, and Massachusetts was allowed to be spit upon with impunity.

27. *Resolved*, That the people of this Commonwealth, without distinction of party, have a right to expect, on the part of their Legislature now in session in this city, a prompt and stern protest against the virtual disfranchisement of Massachusetts in the Senate of the United States.

Mr. GARRISON said he had but little to add to the language of the resolutions. It was well known that the announcement had been formally made in the Senate of the United States, that the Free Soil members would hereafter be proscribed from all Committees in that body—though they were necessitated often to place one man on two or three, or even more committees, as the case might be; thus disfranchising, so far as in their power, the Senator from the Granite State, (Mr. HALE,) the Senator from Massachusetts, (Mr. SUMNER,) and the Senator from Ohio, (Mr. CHASE.) This was done, too, by an overwhelming majority, the reason given being that those gentleman did not belong to a healthy organization—meaning that they were not connected with either of the two great Pro-Slavery parties of the land. Hon. JOHN P. HALE rose in his place, and gave utterance to his feelings at the time; but yet, although he treated the matter with his usual ability, there was lacking an expression of stern moral indignation, in behalf of the State he was there to represent. He rather treated it, as he was apt to treat every subject, in a humorous and witty manner, saying that he felt glad to be relieved from the duty; but that he supposed, by their not putting him on any one particular committee, that they meant he should have the general supervision of all—that he should be a Committee of the Whole. This was all very witty, but it seemed to him (Mr. GARRISON) en-

tirely out of place on such an occasion. He had no right to think of himself—of JOHN P. HALE. He was there to represent a sovereign State, and had the same rights, and was entitled to the same privileges, as the Senator from any other State of the American Union.

So far, Mr. HALE had found utterance; but Mr. SUMNER had said nothing, from that time to the present; had not indicated, in any manner that is visible, the least dissatisfaction or the least alarm of mind in view of the outrage on that account. This overleaped all party distinctions. It was a subject in which he, (Mr. G.) though standing outside of all party organizations, felt a deep interest as a man; and therefore, he desired to register his testimony against that outrage, though standing, for conscience' sake, outside of the government. Mr. SUMNER should have risen in his place, and solemnly protested against such a precedent. This invention might yet return to plague the inventors. Now, Whigs and Democrats were one in this proscription; but if it was good in this case, it would be good for whatever party is strongly dominant hereafter, against any other party that may be found in either house of Congress; and therefore it should excite common indignation as well as common alarm. It was by just such steps as these that despotism at last conquered a people. Step by step, and each step tamely submitted to, until the manhood of the people is gone, and then the usurper has only to spring into the seat of power, and, having his armed myrmidons about him, rule with a rod of iron over the whole country. It might be thought ridiculous by some to express any fear lest this nation should ultimately fall under the power of a military despotism; and yet, what might not happen to us? With such a system as that of Slavery in our midst,—so huge, so volcanic, so destructive in all its elements, so demoralizing, so full of retribution, so Heaven-daring,—he believed before God, that if this nation continued in its present course, submitting to one act of oppression after another on the part of the Slave Power, (which tries to exalt itself above all that is called God,) the day was not far distant when even the form of a republican government would go down to the dust, as that of France, and we shall have our military despot, in some American Napoleon, to rule over us.

We had no manhood, as a people; we were a cowardly race. In one half the country there was no freedom of speech, no right of assembling peaceably together, no freedom of the press—we were all as dead men in the immediate presence of the Slave Power. This was well known, and yet we submitted to it all! “To this complexion has it come at last.”

In thus alluding to Mr. SUMNER, the speaker disclaimed all personal feelings. Mr. SUMNER was his personal friend, and one on whose friendship he wished still to have a strong hold. The necessity of an allusion of this kind was painful to him; but, remembering his Anti-Slavery professions, and the position which he occupies in the name of the people of Massachusetts, he felt constrained to say, that Mr. SUMNER was bound, if on any occasion he could utter a word, to have risen in his place, and borne his protest—not for himself as a man, but in the name of the people of Massachusetts, and the State which he represented. But he was dumb, as the resolution said;

he had never peeped or muttered on the subject. He (Mr. G.) had been astonished at the indifference of the Free Soil party in regard to this daring usurpation. If they were not prepared to stand by their Senators, and to vindicate their sovereignty, it was time for somebody else to look after them, and, as Mr. HALE said, "act as a Committee of the Whole."

In conclusion, Mr. GARRISON said that he hoped the Legislature of Massachusetts would take the matter up without delay. It should not be left to a Free Democrat; but yet, if no other party came forward, the Free Democrat who did not test the Legislature on this subject, would be a traitor to his professions, and recreant to the cause of liberty. But there should be Whigs and Democrats in that body to stop magnanimously forward, and, overleaping all party distinctions, insist that no such insult shall be cast upon Massachusetts with impunity by any body of usurpers in the Congress of the United States. He hoped to see it done, and to see such a protest as would make that usurping body cower before it.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER opposed the resolutions, so far as relates to censuring Mr. SUMNER for his silence on the proscriptive course of the Senate. He would rather censure Mr. S.'s constituents for bearing it so silently and tamely. We do not know all Mr. SUMNER's reasons for silence; and, besides, he rather doubted the propriety of Mr. S. making any protest whatever. If he (Mr. S.) should censure Mr. SUMNER at all, it would be for his being a member of the Senate.

Mr. GARRISON rejoined, that if the speech which his friend Mr. FOSTER had just made was not a severely satirical one — if it were really intended as a grave defence of Mr. SUMNER's silence — then he must say, that, henceforth, whoever shall represent STEPHEN S. FOSTER as having no bowels of mercy, and being utterly destitute of charity, forbearance, and long-suffering, will stand a self-convicted calumniator. But he totally differed in this view of the case from his friend, and must reiterate his conviction, that Mr. SUMNER ought to have registered a strong and dignified protest against such high-handed Senatorial proscription.

Mr. PILLSBURY differed from S. S. FOSTER. He thought the apology, which his friend FOSTER had made for Senator SUMNER, was equally good for the clergy of the country, in regard to their silence and apathy in the cause of the Slave. In my judgment, said Mr. P., Senator SUMNER should have called that tyrannous Senate to account for their insult to Massachusetts, and their dastardly proscription of himself and other Senators. But, culpable as Mr. S.'s silence may be, much more culpable are his constituents for their quiet submission to the insult heaped upon their Senator and their State.

Mr. INNIS said a few words in defence of Mr. SUMNER.

Adjourned.

FRIDAY—EVENING SESSION.

Mr. GARRISON presented and read the following from Rev. S. S. GRISWOLD, of Greenmanville, Ct.

To the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, convened in its Annual Meeting :

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, OF HUMANITY, OF GOD:—Permit me to express my deep sympathy and abiding interest in the great cause of universal philanthropy in which you are engaged, and for which you are now assembled. Eighteen centuries have been rolled into the ocean of the past, since that great Herald of "freedom and of justice," the "Prince of Peace," proclaimed on the mountains and plains of Judea, an "acceptable year of the Lord, a day of salvation from our God." Ages have passed, and yet the full fruition of that blessed announcement has not been realized. "Darkness has covered the earth, and gross darkness the people."

But a better day is dawning; a "good time is coming;" a glorious era is bursting on our world. The rays of truth have already begun to penetrate, if not to permeate, the murky clouds of ignorance, superstition, and oppression. The clarion notes of peace are beginning to swell in choral anthems, while the tocsin of war must ere long be hushed in silence. And what place so fitting to begin the sacred lays as Boston, whose bells first chimed the songs of Liberty, while its infant charge was cradled in FANEUILL'S manger!

What though the child of Liberty, like the babe of Bethlehem, has been driven from its native home! Yet, like Jesus, may it not return when Herod is dead, who sought the young child's life, and only an Archelaus reigns in his stead?

May wisdom guide your deliberations, and the God of peace bless your interview! Though absent in body, yet I am present in spirit, and shall esteem it a privilege to be reckoned as one with you in your labors of love.

SHERMAN S. GRISWOLD.

GREENMANVILLE, Jan. 24, 1853.

The remainder of the evening session was mainly occupied by Rev. THEODORE PARKER, in a very eloquent speech, which was listened to by the large audience with the closest attention. Mr. PARKER took a succinct and masterly review of the present position of the country, in reference to the question of Slavery, — what has recently been done, or is now doing, by the General Government and in different States, to conciliate and fortify the Slave power. He spoke of the Pro-Slavery character of the American Church, meaning, he said, "not the mass of Christian worshippers, but the men who manage the meeting-houses, and often the ministers too." He said there had been nearly a hundred and fifty sermons preached in eulogy of DANIEL WEBSTER, — the betrayer of freedom, and advocate of the Fugi-

tive Slave Law. He knew but four or five preachers who had lifted up their voice against the "notorious wickedness of that powerful man." An intense prejudice also against the colored man, on account of his color, prevails in the Church. Mr. P. then spoke of the Press. He dwelt upon the astonishing and unprecedented success of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in this country, in England, and over the European continent. It had called forth the applause of the most able and distinguished men of the Old World. Yet how shallow and how malignant have been the comments of the leading political and religious presses upon this remarkable book. The course of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* was particularly instanced. But even the theatres, he said, are now teaching those doctrines of humanity and mercy which the churches so long have refused to teach. Mr. PARKER then spoke of the *hopeful* aspects of the cause. These he regarded as many, and as increasing. He spoke particularly of the journals and the men — comparatively few indeed in number, but mighty in mind and the truthfulness of their cause — who are now speaking out with more or less plainness on this question. And, he concluded, we have on our side the humanity, the conscience, the heart, of every man, and the piety of every one that is born of God. And the God of justice is on our side; and so sure as He lives, so sure is this enterprise to triumph.

WENDELL PHILLIPS made a few impressive closing remarks, chiefly in reply to some observations of Mr. PARKER.

The Resolutions before the meeting were adopted by a full and unanimous vote.

The brothers JUDSON, JOHN and ASA HUTCHINSON, sang the "Fugitive's Song." It was received with great applause.

The Society then adjourned, *sine die*.

FRANCIS JACKSON, PRESIDENT.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Secretary*.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., *Assistant Secretary*.

N. B. — The total amount received for Donations, Collections to meet Expenses, and sums taken at the door at the Evening meetings, was \$541.79.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

AT THE MELODEON, THURSDAY EVENING, JAN. 27, 1853.

[PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINGTON.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS came forward, and was received with loud cheering. He presented, from the Business Committee, the following resolution :—

Resolved, That the object of this Society is now, as it has always been, to convince our countrymen, by arguments addressed to their hearts and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime, and that the duty, safety, and interest of all concerned, demand its immediate abolition, without expatriation.

I wish, Mr. Chairman, to notice some objections that have been made to our course, ever since Mr. GARRISON began his career, and which have been lately urged again, with considerable force and emphasis, in the columns of the *London Leader*, the able organ of a very respectable and influential class in England. I hope, Sir, you will not think it waste of time to bring such a subject before you. I know these objections have been made a thousand times ; that they have been often answered ; though we have generally submitted to them in silence, willing to let results speak for us. But there are times when justice to the Slave will not allow us to be silent. There are many in this country, many in England, who have had their attention turned, recently, to the Anti-Slavery cause. They are asking, "which is the best and most efficient method of helping it?" Engaged ourselves in an effort for the Slave, which time has tested and success hitherto approved, we are, very properly, desirous that they should join us in our labors, and pour into this channel the full tide of their new zeal and great resources. Thoroughly convinced ourselves that our course is wise, we can honestly urge others to adopt it. Long experience gives us a right to advise. The fact that our course, more than all other efforts, has caused that agitation which has awakened these new converts, gives us a right to counsel them.

'They are our spiritual children : for their sakes, we would free the cause we love and trust from every seeming defect and plausible objection. For the Slave's sake, we reiterate our explanations, that he may lose no tittle of help by the mistakes or misconceptions of his friends.

All that I have to say on these points will be to you, Mr. Chairman, very trite and familiar ; but the facts may be new to some, and I prefer to state them here, in Boston, where we have lived and worked, because if our statements are incorrect, if we claim too much, our assertions can be easily answered and disproved.

The charges to which I refer are these : That in dealing with Slaveholders and their apologists, we indulge in fierce denunciations, instead of appealing to their reason and common sense by plain statements and fair argument ; — that we might have won the sympathies and support of the nation, if we would have submitted to argue this question with a manly patience ; but instead of this, we have outraged the feelings of the community by attacks, unjust and unnecessarily severe, on its most valued institutions, and gratified our spleen by indiscriminate abuse of leading men, who were often honest in their intentions, however mistaken in their views ; — that we have utterly neglected the ample means that lay around us to convert the nation, submitted to no discipline, formed no plan, been guided by no foresight, but hurried on in childish, reckless, blind, and hot-headed zeal — bigots in the narrowness of our views, and fanatics in our blind fury of invective, and malignant judgment of other men's motives.

There are some who come upon our platform, and give us the aid of names and reputations less burdened than ours with popular odium, who are perpetually urging us to exercise charity in our judgments of those about us, and to consent to argue these questions. These men are ever parading their wish to draw a line between themselves and us, because *they must be permitted to wait* — to trust more to reason than feeling — to indulge a generous charity — to rely on the sure influence of simple truth, uttered in love, &c., &c. I reject with scorn all these implications that *our* judgments are uncharitable, — that *we* are lacking in patience, — that *we* have any other dependence than on the simple truth, spoken with Christian frankness yet with Christian love. These lectures, to which you, Sir, and all of us, have so often listened, would be impertinent, if they were not rather ridiculous for the gross ignorance they betray of the community, of the cause, and of the whole course of its friends.

The article in the *Leader* to which I refer is signed "Ion," and may be found in *The Liberator* of December 17, 1852. The writer is cordial and generous in his recognition of Mr. GARRISON's claim to be the representative of the Anti-Slavery movement, and does entire justice to his motives and character. The criticisms of Ion were reprinted in the *Christian Register*, of this city, the organ of the Unitarian denomination. The editors of that paper, with their usual Christian courtesy, love of truth, and fair-dealing, omitted all Ion's expressions of regard for Mr. GARRISON and appreciation of his motives, and reprinted only those parts of the article which undervalue his sagacity and influence, and endorse the common objections to his method

and views. You will see in a moment, Mr. President, that it is with such men and presses, ION thinks Mr. GARRISON has not been sufficiently wise and patient, in trying to win their help for the Anti-Slavery cause. Perhaps, were he on the spot, it would tire even his patience and puzzle even his sagacity to make any other use of them than that of the drunken Helot—a warning to others how disgusting mean vice is. Perhaps, were he here, he would see that the best and only use to be made of them is to let them unfold their own characters, and then show the world how rotten our Politics and Religion are, that they naturally bear such fruit. ION quotes Mr. GARRISON's original declaration, in *The Liberator* :—

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language ; but is there not cause for severity ? I *will* be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.

It is *pretended* that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective, and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true.* On this question, my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing ; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God that he enables me to disregard “the fear of man which bringeth a snare,” and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power.

He then goes on to say :—

This is a defence which has been generally accepted on this side of the Atlantic, and many are the Abolitionists among us whom it has encouraged in honesty and impotence ; and whom it has converted into conscientious hindrances. * * *

We would have Mr. GARRISON to say, “I will be as harsh as *progress*, as uncompromising as *success*.” If a man speaks for his own gratification, he may be as “harsh” as he pleases ; but if he speaks for the down-trodden and oppressed, he must be content to put a curb upon the tongue of holiest passion, and speak only as harshly as is compatible with the amelioration of the evil he proposes to redress. Let the question be again repeated : Do you seek for the Slave vengeance or redress ? If you seek retaliation, go on denouncing. But distant Europe honors WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, because it credits him with seeking for the Slave simply redress. We say, therefore, that “uncompromising” policy is not to be measured by absolute justice, but by practical amelioration of the Slave's condition. Amelioration as fast as you can get it—absolute justice as soon as you can reach it.

He quotes the sentiment of Confucius, that he would choose for a leader “a man who would maintain a steady vigilance in the direction of affairs ; who was capable of forming plans, and of executing them,” and says :—

The philosopher was right in placing wisdom and executive capacity above courage ; for down to this day, our popular movements are led by heroes who *fear* nothing, and who *win* nothing. * * *

There is no question raised in these articles as to the work to be done, but only as to the mode of *really* doing it. The platform resounds with announcements of principle, which is but *asserting* a right, while nothing but contempt is showered on policy which is the *realization* of right. The air is

filled with all high cries and spirited denunciations; indignation is at a premium; and this is called advocacy. * * * But to calculate, to make sure of your aim, is to be decried as one who is too cold to feel, too genteel to strike.

Further on, he observes:—

If an artillery officer throws shell after shell which never reach the enemy, he is replaced by some one with a better eye and a surer aim. But in the artillery battle of opinion, to *mean* to hit is quite sufficient; and if you have a certain grand indifference as to whether you hit or not, you may count on public applause. * * *

A man need be no less militant, as the soldier of facts, than as the agent of swords. But the arena of argument needs discipline no less than that of arms. It is this which the Anti-Slavery party seem to me not only to overlook, but to despise. They do not put their valor to drill. Neither on the field nor the platform has courage any inherent capacity of taking care of itself.

The writer then proceeds to make a quotation from Mr. EMERSON, the latter part of which I will read:—

Let us withhold every *reproachful*, and, if we can, every *indignant* remark. In this cause, we must renounce our temper and the risings of pride. If there be any man who thinks the ruin of a race of men a small matter compared with the last decorations and completions of his own comfort—who would not so much as part with his ice-cream to save them from rapine and manacles—I think I must not hesitate to satisfy *that* man, that also his cream and vanilla are safer and cheaper by placing the negro nation on a fair footing than by robbing them. If the Virginian piques himself on the picturesque luxury of his vassalage, on the heavy Ethiopian manners of his house servants, their silent obedience, their hue of bronze, their turbaned heads, and would not exchange them for the more intelligent but precarious hired services of whites, I shall not refuse to show *him* that when their free papers are made out, it will still be their interest to remain on his estates; and that the oldest planters of Jamaica are convinced that it is cheaper to pay wages than to own Slaves.

The critic takes exception to Mr. GARRISON's approval of the denunciatory language in which DANIEL O'CONNELL rebuked the giant sin of America, and concludes his article with this sentence:—

When WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON praises the great Celtic Monarch of invective for this dire outpouring, he acts the part of the boy who fancies that the terror is in the war-whoop of the savage, unmindful of the quieter muskets of the civilized infantry, whose unostentatious execution blows whoop and tomahawk to the devil.

Before passing to a consideration of these remarks of ION, let me say a word in relation to Mr. EMERSON. I do not consider him as endorsing any of these criticisms on the Abolitionists. His services to the most radical Anti-Slavery movement have been generous and marked. He has never shrunk from any odium which lending his name and voice to it would incur. Making fair allowance for his peculiar taste, habits, and genius, he has given a generous amount of aid to the Anti-Slavery movement, and never let its friends want his cordial "God-speed."

Ion's charges are the old ones, that we Abolitionists are hurting our own cause — that, instead of waiting for the community to come up to our views, and endeavoring to remove prejudice and enlighten ignorance, by patient explanation and fair argument, we fall at once, like children, to abusing everything and everybody — that we imagine zeal will supply the place of common sense — that we have never shown any sagacity in adapting our means to our ends, have never studied the national character, or attempted to make use of the materials which lay all about us, to influence public opinion, but by blind, childish, obstinate fury and indiscriminate denunciation, have become “honestly impotent and conscientious hindrances.”

These, Sir, are the charges which have uniformly been brought against all reformers in all ages. Ion thinks the same faults are chargeable on the leaders of all the “popular movements” in England, which, he says, “are led by heroes who *fear* nothing, and who *win* nothing.” If the leaders of popular movements in Great Britain for the last fifty years have been *losers*, I should be curious to know what party, in Ion's opinion, have won? My Lord DERBY and his friends seem to think Democracy has made and is making dangerous headway. If the men who, by popular agitation, outside of Parliament, wrung from a powerful oligarchy Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of the Test Acts, of high Post Rates, of Catholic Disability, of Negro Slavery and the Corn Laws, did “not win anything,” it would be hard to say what winning is. If the men who, without the ballot, made PEELE their tool and conquered the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, are considered unsuccessful, pray what kind of a thing would success be? Those who now, at the head of that same middle class, demand the separation of Church and State, and the Extension of the Ballot, may well guess, from the fluttering of Whig and Tory dovescotes, that soon they will “win” that same “nothing.” Heaven grant they may enjoy the same *ill success* with their predecessors! On our side of the ocean, too, we ought deeply to sympathize with the leaders of the Temperance movement in their entire want of success! If Ion's mistakes about the Anti-Slavery cause lay as much on the surface as those I have just noticed, it would be hardly worth while to reply to him; for as to these, he certainly exhibits only “the extent and variety of his mis-information.”

His remarks upon the Anti-Slavery movement are, however, equally inaccurate. I claim, before you who know the true state of the case, I claim for the Anti-Slavery movement with which this Society is identified, that, looking back over its whole course, and considering the men connected with it in the mass, it has been marked by sound judgment, unerring foresight, the most sagacious adaptation of means to ends, the strictest self-discipline, the most thorough research, and an amount of patient and manly argument addressed to the conscience and intellect of the nation, such as no other cause of the kind, in England or this country, has ever offered. I claim, also, that its course has been marked by a cheerful surrender of all individual claims to merit or leadership — the most cordial welcoming of the slightest effort, of every honest attempt to lighten or to break the chain of the Slave. I need not waste time by repeating the superfluous confession that we are

men, and therefore do not claim to be perfect. Neither would I be understood as denying that we use denunciation, and ridicule, and every other weapon that the human mind knows. We must plead guilty, if there be guilt in not knowing how to separate the sin from the sinner. With all the fondness for abstractions attributed to us, we are not yet capable of that. We are fighting a momentous battle at desperate odds — one against a thousand. Every weapon that ability or ignorance, wit, wealth, prejudice or fashion can command, is pointed against us. The guns are shotted to their lips. The arrows are poisoned. Fighting against such an array, we cannot afford to confine ourselves to any one weapon. The cause is not ours, so that we might, rightfully, postpone or put in peril the victory by moderating our demands, stifling our convictions, or filing down our rebukes, to gratify any sickly taste of our own, or to spare the delicate nerves of our neighbor. Our clients are three million or slaves, standing dull suppliants at the threshold of the Christian world. They have no voice but ours to utter their complaints, or to demand justice. The press, the pulpit, the wealth, the literature, the prejudices, the political arrangements, the present self-interest of the country, are all against us. God has given us no weapon but the truth, faithfully uttered, and addressed, with the old prophet's directness, to the conscience of the individual sinner. The elements which control public opinion and mould the masses are against us. We can but pick off here and there a man from the triumphant majority. We have facts for those who think — arguments for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices, must be laughed out of them; he who cannot be argued out of his selfishness, must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes. We live in a land where every man makes broad his phylactery, inscribing thereon, "All men are created equal" — "God hath made of one blood all nations of men." It seems to us that in such a land there must be, on this question of Slavery, sluggards to be awakened as well as doubters to be convinced. Many more, we verily believe, of the first, than of the last. There are far more dead hearts to be quickened, than confused intellects to be cleared up — more dumb dogs to be made to speak, than doubting consciences to be enlightened. (Loud cheers.) We have use, then, sometimes, for something beside argument.

What is the denunciation with which we are charged? It is endeavoring, in our faltering human speech, to declare the enormity of the sin of making merchandise of men — of separating husband and wife — taking the infant from its mother, and selling the daughter to prostitution — of a professedly Christian nation denying, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population, and making it illegal for "two or three" to meet together, except a white man be present! What is this harsh criticism of motives with which we are charged? It is simply holding the intelligent and deliberate actor responsible for the character and consequences of his acts. Is there anything inherently wrong in such denunciation or such criticism? This we may claim — we have never judged a man but out of his own mouth. We have seldom, if ever, held him to account, except for acts

of which he and his own friends were proud. All that we ask the world and thoughtful men to note are the principles and deeds on which the American pulpit and American public men plume themselves. We always allow our opponents to paint their own pictures. Our humble duty is to stand by and assure the spectators, that what they would take for a knave or a hypocrite is really, in American estimation, a Doctor of Divinity or Secretary of State.*

The South is one great brothel, where half a million of women are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are degraded to believe it honorable. The public squares of half our great cities echo to the wail of families torn asunder at the auction-block — no one of our fair rivers that has not closed over the negro seeking in death a refuge from a life too wretched to bear — thousands of fugitives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their names, and trembling at the sight of a human being — free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged into that hell of Slavery, and now and then one, as if by miracle, after long years, returns to make men aghast with his tale. The Press says, "It is all right;" and the Pulpit cries, "Amen." We print

* A paragraph from the *New England Farmer*, of this city, has gone the rounds of the Press, and is generally believed. It says:—

"We learn, on reliable authority, that Mr. WEBSTER confessed to a warm political friend, a short time before his death, that the great mistake of his life was the famous seventh of March speech, in which, it will be remembered, he defended the Fugitive Slave Law, and fully committed himself to the Compromise measures. Before taking his stand on that occasion, he is said to have corresponded with Prof. STUART and other eminent divines, to ascertain how far the religious sentiment of the North would sustain him in the position he was about to assume."

Some say this "warm political friend" was a clergyman! Consider a moment the language of this statement, the form it takes on every lip and in every press. "The great *mistake* of his life"! Seventy years old, brought up in New England churches, with all the culture of the world at his command, his soul melted by the repeated loss of those dearest to him, a great statesman, with a heart, according to his admirers, yet tender and fresh, one who bent in such agony over the death-bed of his first daughter — he looks back on this Speech, which his friends say changed the feelings of ten millions of people, and made it possible to enact and execute the Fugitive Slave Law. He sees that it flooded the hearthstones of thousands of colored men with wretchedness and despair — crazed the mother, and broke the heart of the wife — putting the virtue of woman and the liberty of man in the power of the vilest — and all, as he at least now saw, for nothing. Yet one, who, according to his worshippers, was "the grandest growth of our soil and our institutions," looked back on such an act, and said what? With one foot in the grave, said what of it? "I did wrong"? "I committed a foul outrage on my brother man"? "I sported too carelessly with the welfare of the poor"? Was there no moral chord in that heart, "the grandest growth of our soil and our institutions"? No! He said, "I made a mistake!" Not, "I was false in my stewardship of these great talents and this high position!" No! But on the chess-board of the political game, I made a bad move! I threw away my chances! A gambler, I did not understand my cards! And to whom does he offer this acknowledgment? To a clergyman! the representative of the moral sense of the community! What a picture! We laugh at the lack of heart in TALLEYRAND, when he says, "It is worse than a crime, a blunder." Yet all our New Englander can call this momentous crime of his life is, a *mistake*!

Whether this statement be entirely true or not, we all know it is exactly the tone in which all about us talk of that Speech. If the statement be true, what an entire want of right feeling and moral sensibility it shows in Mr. WEBSTER! If it be unfounded, still the welcome it has received, and the ready belief it has gained, show the popular appreciation of him, and of such a crime. Such is the public with whom Abolitionists have to deal.

the Bible in every tongue in which man utters his prayers — and get the money to do so, by agreeing never to give the book, in the language our mothers taught us, to any negro, free or bond, South of Mason and Dixon's line. The Press says, "It is all right;" and the Pulpit cries, "Amen." The Slave lifts up his imploring eyes, and sees in every face, but ours, the face of an enemy. Prove to me now that harsh rebuke, indignant denunciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule, are wholly and always unjustifiable; else we dare not, in so desperate a case, throw away any weapon which ever broke up the crust of an ignorant prejudice, roused a slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or changed, in any way, the conduct of a human being. Our aim is to alter public opinion. Did we live in a market, our talk should be of dollars and cents, and we would seek to prove only that Slavery was an unprofitable investment. Were the nation one great, pure Church, we would sit down and reason of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." Had Slavery fortified itself in a College, we would load our cannons with cold facts, and wing our arrows with arguments. But we happen to live in the world — the world made up of thought and impulse, of self-conceit and self-interest, of weak men and wicked. To conquer, we must reach all. Our object is not to make every man a Christian or a philosopher, but to induce every one to aid in the abolition of Slavery. We expect to accomplish our object long before the nation is made over into saints, or elevated into philosophers. To change public opinion, we use the very tools by which it was formed. That is, all such as an honest man may touch.

All this I am not only ready to allow, but I should be ashamed to think of the Slave, or to look into the face of my fellow-man, if it were otherwise. It is the only thing that justifies us to our own consciences, and makes us able to say we have done, or at least tried to do, our duty.

So far, however you distrust my philosophy, you will not doubt my statements. That we have denounced and rebuked with unsparing fidelity will not be denied. Have we not also addressed ourselves to that other duty, of arguing our question thoroughly — of using due discretion and fair sagacity in endeavoring to promote our cause? Yes, we have. Every statement we have made has been doubted. Every principle we have laid down has been denied by overwhelming majorities against us. No one step has ever been gained but by the most laborious research and the most exhausting argument. And no question has ever, since Revolutionary days, been so thoroughly investigated or argued here, as that of Slavery. Of that research and that argument, of the whole of it, the old-fashioned, fanatical, crazy, Garrisonian Anti-Slavery movement has been the author. From this band of men has proceeded every important argument or idea that has been broached on the Anti-Slavery question from 1830 to the present time. (Cheers.) I am well aware of the extent of the claim I make. I recognise, as fully as any one can, the ability of the new laborers — the eloquence and genius with which they have recommended this cause to the nation, and flashed conviction home on the conscience of the community. I do not mean, either, to assert that they have in every instance borrowed from our

treasury their facts and arguments. Left to themselves, they would probably have looked up the one, and originated the other. As a matter of fact, however, they have generally made use of the materials collected to their hands. But there are some persons about us, sympathizers, to a great extent, with Iox, who pretend that the Anti-Slavery movement has been hitherto mere fanaticism, its only weapon angry abuse. They are obliged to assert this, in order to justify their past indifference or hostility. At present, when it suits their purpose to give it some attention, they endeavor to explain the change by alleging that now it has been taken up by men of thoughtful minds, and its claims are urged by fair discussion and able argument. My claim, then, is this : that neither the charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our wisest converts, nor the culture of the ripest scholars, though all have been aided by our twenty years' experience, has yet struck out any new method of reaching the public mind, or originated any new argument or train of thought, or discovered any new fact bearing on the question. When once brought fully into the struggle, they have found it necessary to adopt the same means, to rely on the same arguments, to hold up the same men and the same measures to public reprobation, with the same bold rebuke and unsparing invective that we have used. All their conciliatory bearing, their pains-taking moderation, their constant and anxious endeavor to draw a broad line between their camp and ours, have been thrown away. Just so far as they have been effective laborers, they have found, as we have, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them. The most experienced of them are ready to acknowledge that our plan has been wise, our course efficient, and that our unpopularity is no fault of ours, but flows necessarily and unavoidably from our position. "I should suspect," says old FULLER, "that his preaching had no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince." Our friends find, after all, that men do not so much hate us as the truth we utter and the light we bring. They find that the community are not the honest seekers after truth which they fancied, but selfish politicians and sectarian bigots, who shiver, like Alexander's butler, whenever the sun shines on them. Experience has driven these new laborers back to our method. We have no quarrel with them — would not steal one wreath of their laurels. All we claim is, that if they are to be complimented as prudent, moderate, Christian, sagacious, statesmanlike reformers, we deserve the same praise ; for they have done nothing that we, in our measures, did not attempt before. (Cheers.)

I claim this, that the cause, in its recent aspect, has put on nothing but timidity. It has taken to itself no new weapons of recent years ; it has become more compromising — that is all ! It has become neither more persuasive, more learned, more Christian, more charitable, nor more effective, than for the twenty years preceding. Mr. HALE, the head of the Free Soil movement, after a career in the Senate that would do honor to any man — after a six years' course which entitles him to the respect and confidence of the Anti-Slavery public — can put his name, within the last month, to an appeal from the city of Washington, signed by a HEUSTON and a CASS, for a monument to be raised to HENRY CLAY ! If that be the test of charity and

courtesy, we cannot give it to the world. (Loud cheers.) Some of the leaders of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, after exhausting the whole capacity of our language to paint the treachery of DANIEL WEBSTER to the cause of liberty, and the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do ; — after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade themselves in the funeral procession got up to do him honor ! In this we allow we cannot follow them. The deference which every gentleman owes to the proprieties of social life, that self-respect and regard to consistency which is every man's duty, these, if no deeper feelings, will ever prevent us from giving such proofs of this newly-invented Christian courtesy. (Great cheering.) We do not *play* politics ; Anti-Slavery is no half-jest with us ; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue. It is no law-suit, where it matters not to the good feeling of opposing counsel which way the verdict goes, and where advocates can shake hands after the decision as pleasantly as before. When we look upon such a man as HENRY CLAY, his long life, his mighty influence cast always into the scale against the Slave ; of that irresistible fascination with which he moulded every one to his will ; when we remember that, his conscience acknowledging the justice of our cause, and his heart open on every other side to the gentlest impulses, he could sacrifice so remorselessly his convictions and the welfare of millions to his low ambition ; when we think how the Slave trembled at the sound of his voice, and that, from a multitude of breaking hearts, there went up nothing but gratitude to God when it pleased Him to call that great sinner from this world, — we cannot find it in our hearts, we could not shape our lips to ask any man to do him honor. (Great sensation.) No amount of eloquence, no sheen of official position, no loud grief of partisan friends, would ever lead us to ask monuments or walk in fine processions for pirates ; and the sectarian zeal or selfish ambition which gives up, deliberately and in full knowledge of the facts, three million of human beings to hopeless ignorance, daily robbery, systematic prostitution, and murder, which the law is neither able nor undertakes to prevent or avenge, is more monstrous, in our eyes, than the love of gold which takes a score of lives with merciful quickness on the high seas. HAYNAU on the Danube is no more hateful to us than HAYNAU on the Potomac. Why give mobs to one, and monuments to the other ?

If these things be necessary to courtesy, I cannot claim that we are courteous. We seek only to be honest men, and speak the same of the dead as of the living. If the grave that hides their bodies could swallow also the evil they have done and the example they leave, we might enjoy at least the luxury of forgetting them. But the evil that men do lives after them, and Example acquires tenfold authority when it speaks from the grave. History, also, is to be written. How shall a feeble minority, without weight or influence in the country, with no jury of millions to appeal to, — denounced, vilified, and contemned, — how shall we make way against the overwhelming weight of some colossal reputation, if we do not turn from the idolatrous Present, and appeal to the Human Race ; saying to your idols of to-day, " Here we are defeated, but we will write our judgment with the iron pen

of a century to come, and it shall never be forgotten, if we can help it, that you were false in your generation to the claims of the Slave!" (Loud cheers.)

At present, our leading men, strong in the support of large majorities, and counting safely on the prejudices of the community, can afford to despise us. They know they can overawe or cajole the present; their only fear is the judgment of the future. Strange fear, perhaps, considering how short and local their fame! But however little, it is their all. Our only hold upon them is the thought of that bar of posterity, before which we are all to stand. Thank God! there is the elder brother of the Saxon race across the water—there is the army of honest men to come! Before that jury we summon you. We are weak here—out-talked, out-voted. You load our names with infamy, and shout us down. But our words bide their time. We warn the living that we have terrible memories, and that their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet the name of every apostate so black and high that his children's children shall blush to bear it. Yet we bear no malice—cherish no resentment. We thank God that the love of fame, "that last infirmity of noble mind," is shared by the ignoble. In our necessity, we seize this weapon in the Slave's behalf, and teach caution to the living by meting out relentless justice to the dead. How strange the change death produces in the way a man is talked about here! While leading men live, they avoid as much as possible all mention of Slavery, from fear of being thought Abolitionists. The moment they are dead, their friends rake up every word they ever contrived to whisper in a corner for liberty, and parade it before the world; growing angry, all the while, with us, because we insist on explaining these chance expressions by the tenor of a long and base life. While drunk with the temptations of the present hour, men are willing to bow to any Moloch. When their friends bury them, they feel what bitter mockery, fifty years hence, any epitaph will be, if it cannot record of one living in this era, some service rendered to the Slave! These, Mr. Chairman, are the reasons why we take care that "the memory of the wicked shall rot."

I have claimed that the Anti-Slavery cause has, from the first, been ably and dispassionately argued, every objection candidly examined, and every difficulty or doubt anywhere honestly entertained, treated with respect. Let me glance at the literature of the cause, and try not so much, in a brief hour, to prove this assertion, as to point out the sources from which any one may satisfy himself of its truth.

I will begin with certainly the ablest and perhaps the most honest statesman who has ever touched the Slave question. Any one who will examine JOHN QUINCY ADAMS's speech on Texas, in 1838, will see that he was only seconding the full and able exposure of the Texas plot, prepared by BENJAMIN LUNDY; to one of whose pamphlets Dr. CHANNING, in his Letter to HENRY CLAY, has confessed his obligation. Every one acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. LUNDY, who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His labors have this attestation, that they

quickened the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as ADAMS and CHANNING.

Look next at the Right of Petition. Long before any member of Congress had opened his mouth in its defence, the Abolition pressors and lecturers had examined and defended the limits of this right, with profound historical research and eminent constitutional ability. So thoroughly had the work been done, that all classes of the people had made up their minds about it, long before any speaker of eminence had touched it in Congress. The politicians were little aware of this. When Mr. ADAMS threw himself so gallantly into the breach, it is said he wrote anxiously home to know whether he would be supported in Massachusetts; little aware of the outburst of popular gratitude that the Northern breeze was even then bringing him, deep and cordial enough to wipe away the old grudge Massachusetts had borne him so long. Mr. ADAMS himself was only in favor of receiving the petitions, and advised to refuse their prayer, which was the abolition of Slavery in the District. He doubted the power of Congress. His doubts were examined by Mr. WILLIAM GOODELL, in two letters of most able and acute logic, and of masterly ability. If Mr. ADAMS still retained his doubts, it is certain, at least, that he never expressed them afterward. When Mr. CLAY paraded the same objections, the whole question of the power of Congress over the District was treated by THEODORE D. WELD, in the fullest manner, and with the widest research: indeed, leaving nothing to be added: an argument which Dr. CHANNING characterized as "demonstration," and pronounced the Essay "the ablest pamphlet from the American press." No answer was ever attempted. The best proof of its ability is, that no one since has presumed to doubt the power. Lawyers and statesmen have tacitly settled down into its full acknowledgment.

The influence of the Colonization Society on the welfare of the colored race was the first question our movement encountered. To the close logic, eloquent appeals, and fully sustained charges of Mr. GARRISON's Letters on that subject, no answer was ever made. Judge JAY followed with a work full and able, establishing every charge by the most patient investigation of facts. It is not too much to say of these two volumes, that they left the Colonization Society hopeless at the North. It dares never show its face before the people, and only lingers in some few nooks of sectarian pride, so secluded from the influence of present ideas as to be almost fossil in their character.

The practical working of the Slave system, the Slave laws, the treatment of Slaves, their food, the duration of their lives, their ignorance and moral condition, and the influence of Southern public opinion on their fate, have been spread out in a detail and with a fullness of evidence which no subject has ever received before in this country. Witness the works of PHELPS, BOURNE, RANKIN, GRIMKE, the "Anti-Slavery Record," and, above all, that encyclopædia of facts and storehouse of arguments, the "Thousand Witnesses" of Mr. THEODORE D. WELD. Unique in Anti-Slavery literature is Mrs. CHILDS's "Appeal," one of the ablest of our weapons, and one of the finest efforts of her rare genius.

The Princeton Review, I believe, first challenged the Abolitionists to an investigation of the teachings of the Bible on Slavery. That field had been somewhat broken by our English predecessors. But in England, the Pro-Slavery party had been soon shamed out of the attempt to drag the Bible into their service, and hence the discussion there had been short and somewhat superficial. The Pro-Slavery side of the question has been eagerly sustained by Theological Reviews and Doctors of Divinity without number, from the half-way and timid faltering of WAYLAND up to the unblushing and melancholy recklessness of STUART. The argument on the other side has come wholly from the Abolitionists. For neither Dr. HAGUE nor Dr. BARNES can be said to have added anything to the wide research, critical acumen, and comprehensive views of THEODORE D. WELD, BERIAH GREEN, J. G. FEE, and the old work of DUNCAN.

On the constitutional questions which have at various times arisen, — the citizenship of the colored man, the soundness of the "PRIGG" decision, the constitutionality of the old Fugitive Slave Law, the true construction of the Slave surrender clause, — nothing has been added, either in the way of fact or argument, to the works of JAY, WELD, ALVAN STEWART, E. G. LORING, S. E. SEWALL, RICHARD HILDRETH, W. I. BOWDITCH, the masterly Essays of the *Emancipator* at New York, and the *Liberator* at Boston, and the various addresses of the Massachusetts and American Societies for the last twenty years. The idea of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution — the opiate with which Free Soil quiets its conscience for voting under a Pro-Slavery government — I heard first suggested by Mr. GARRISON in 1838. It was elaborately argued in that year in all our Anti-Slavery gatherings, both here and in New York, and sustained with great ability by ALVAN STEWART, and in part by T. D. WELD. If it has either merit or truth, they are due to no legal learning recently added to our ranks, but to some of its old and well known pioneers. This claim has since received the fullest investigation from Mr. LYSANDER SPOONER, who has urged it with all his unrivalled ingenuity, laborious research, and close logic. He writes as a lawyer, and has no wish, I believe, to be ranked with any class of Anti-Slavery men.

The influence of Slavery on our government has received the profoundest philosophical investigation from the pen of RICHARD HILDRETH, in his invaluable essay on "Despotism in America," — a work which deserves a place by the side of the ablest political disquisitions of any age.

Mrs. CHAPMAN's survey of "Ten Years of Anti-Slavery Experience," was the first attempt at a philosophical discussion of the various aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause, and the problems raised by its struggles with sect and party. You, Mr. Chairman, [EDMUND QUINCY, Esq.,] in the elaborate Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the last ten years, have followed in the same path, making to American literature a contribution of the highest value, and in a department where you have few rivals and no superior. Whoever shall write the history either of this movement, or any other attempted under a Republican Government, will find nowhere else so

clear an insight and so full an acquaintance with the most difficult part of his subject.

Even the vigorous mind of RANTOUL, the ablest man, without doubt, of the Democratic party, and perhaps the ablest politician in New England, added little or nothing to the storehouse of Anti-Slavery argument. The grasp of his intellect and the fullness of his learning every one will acknowledge. He never trusted himself to speak on any subject till he had dug down to its primal granite. He laid a most generous contribution on the altar of the Anti-Slavery cause. His speeches on our question, too short and too few, are remarkable for their compact statement, iron logic, bold denunciations, and the wonderful light thrown back upon our history. Yet how little do they present which was not familiar for years in our Anti-Slavery meetings!

Look, too, at the last great effort of the idol of so many thousands, Mr. Senator SUMNER; a discussion of a great national question, of which it has been said that we must go back to WEBSTER'S Reply to HAYNE, and FISHER AMES on the JAY Treaty, to find its equal in Congress;—praise which we might perhaps qualify, if any adequate report were left us of some of those noble orations of ADAMS. No one can be blind to the skillful use he has made of his materials, the consummate ability with which he has marshalled them, and the radiant glow which his genius has thrown over all. Yet, with the exception of his reference to the Anti-Slavery debate in Congress in 1817, there is no train of thought or argument, and no single fact in the whole speech, which has not been familiar in our meetings and essays for the last ten years.

Before leaving the Halls of Congress, I have great pleasure in recognising one exception to my remarks, Mr. GIDDINGS. Perhaps he is no real exception, since it would not be difficult to establish his claim to be considered one of the original Abolition party. But whether he would choose to be so considered or not, it is certainly true that his long presence at the seat of government, his whole-souled devotedness, his sagacity and unwearied industry, have made him a large contributor to our Anti-Slavery resources.

The relations of the American Church to Slavery, and the duties of private Christians,—the whole casuistry of this portion of the question, so momentous among descendants of the Puritans,—have been discussed with great acuteness and rare common sense by MESSRS. GARRISON, GOODELL, GERRIT SMITH, PILLSBURY, and FOSTER. They have never attempted to judge the American Church by any standard except that which she has herself laid down—never claimed that she should be perfect, but have contented themselves with demanding that she should be consistent. They have never judged her except out of her own mouth, and on facts asserted by her own presses and leaders. The sundering of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, and the universal agitation of the religious world, are the best proof of the sagacity with which their measures have been chosen, the cogent arguments they have used, and the indisputable facts on which their criticisms have been founded.

In nothing have the Abolitionists shown more sagacity or more thorough

knowledge of their countrymen, than in the course they have pursued in relation to the Church. None but a New Englander can appreciate the power which Church organizations wield over all that share the blood of the Puritans. The influence of each sect over its own members is overwhelming, often shutting out, or controlling, all other influences. We have Popes here, all the more dangerous because no triple crown puts you on your guard. The Methodist priesthood brings Catholicism very vividly to mind. That each local church is independent of all others, we have been somewhat careful to assert, in theory and practice. The individual's independence of all organizations that place themselves between him and his God, some few bold minds have asserted in theory, but most even of those have stopped there.

In such a land, the Abolitionists early saw, that for a moral question like this, only two paths lay open : to work through the Church — that failing, to join battle with it. Some tried long, like Luther, to be Protestants, and yet not come out of Catholicism ; but their eyes were soon opened. Since then, we have been convinced that, to come out from the Church, to hold her up as the Bulwark of Slavery, and to make her shortcomings the main burden of our appeals to the religious sentiment of the community, was our first duty and best policy. This course alienated many friends, and was a subject of frequent rebuke from such men as Dr. CHANNING. But nothing has ever more strengthened the cause, or won it more influence ; and it has had the healthiest effect on the Church itself. British Christians have always sanctioned it, whenever the case has been fairly presented to them. Mr. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, a man far better acquainted with his own times than Dr. CHANNING, recognised the soundness of our policy. I do not know that he ever uttered a word in public on the delinquency of the churches ; but he is said to have assured his son, at the time the Methodist Church broke asunder, that other men might be more startled by the eclat of political success, but nothing, in his opinion, promised more good, or showed more clearly the real strength of the Anti-Slavery movement, than that momentous event.

In 1838, the British Emancipation in the West Indies opened a rich field for observation, and a full harvest of important facts. The Abolitionists, not willing to wait for the official reports of the government, sent special agents through those islands, whose reports they scattered, at great expense and by great exertion, broadcast through the land. This was at a time when no newspaper in the country would either lend or sell them the aid of its columns to enlighten the nation on an experiment so vitally important to us. And even now, hardly a press in the country cares or dares to bestow a line or communicate a fact toward the history of that remarkable revolution. The columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and *Ohio Bugle*, have been for years full of all that a thorough and patient advocacy of our cause demands. And the eloquent lips of many whom I see around me, and whom I need not name here, have done their share toward pressing all these topics on public attention.

I remember that when, in 1845, the present leaders of the Free Soil party

with DANIEL WEBSTER in their company, met to draw up the Anti-Texas Address of the Massachusetts Convention, they sent to Abolitionists for Anti-Slavery facts and history, for the remarkable testimonies of our Revolutionary great men which they wished to quote. ("Hear, hear.") When, many years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts wished to send to Congress a resolution affirming the duty of immediate emancipation, the Committee sent to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON to draw it up, and it stands now on our Statute Book as he drafted it.

How vigilantly, how patiently did we watch the Texas plot from its commencement! The politic South felt that its first move had been too bold, and thenceforward worked underground. For many a year, men laughed at us for entertaining any apprehensions. It was impossible to rouse the North to its peril. DAVID LEE CHILD was thought crazy, because he would not believe there was no danger. His elaborate "Letters on Texan Annexation" are the ablest and most valuable contribution that has been made towards a history of the whole plot. Though we foresaw and proclaimed our conviction that Annexation would be, in the end, a fatal step for the South, we did not feel at liberty to relax our opposition, well-knowing the vast increase of strength it would give, at first, to the Slave Power. I remember being one of a Committee which waited on ABBOTT LAWRENCE, a year or two only before Annexation, to ask his countenance to some general movement, without distinction of party, against the Texas scheme. He smiled at our fears, begged us to have no apprehensions; stating that his correspondence with leading men at Washington enabled him to assure us Annexation was impossible, and that the South itself was determined to defeat the project. A short while after, Senators and Representatives from Texas took their seats in Congress!

Many of these services to the Slave were done before I joined his cause. In thus referring to them, do not suppose me merely seeking occasion of eulogy on my predecessors and present co-laborers. I recall these things only to rebut the contemptuous criticism which some about us make the excuse for their past neglect of the movement, and in answer to ION's representation of our course as reckless fanaticism, childish impatience, utter lack of good sense, and of our meetings as scenes only of excitement, of reckless and indiscriminate denunciation. I assert that every social, moral, economical, religious, political, and historical aspect of the question has been ably and patiently examined. And all this has been done with an industry and ability which have left little for the professional skill, scholarly culture, and historical learning of the new laborers to accomplish. If the people are still in doubt, it is from the inherent difficulty of the subject, or a hatted of light, not from want of it.

So far from the Anti-Slavery cause having lacked a manly and able discussion, I think it will be acknowledged hereafter, that this discussion has been one of the noblest contributions to a literature really American. Heretofore, not only has our tone been but an echo of foreign culture, but the very topics discussed and the views maintained have been too often pale reflections of European politics and European philosophy. No matter what

dress we assumed, the voice was ever "the voice of Jacob." At last we have stirred a question thoroughly American. The subject has been looked at from a point of view entirely American; and it is of such deep interest, that it has called out all the intellectual strength of the nation. For once, the nation speaks its own thoughts, in its own language, and the tone also is all its own. It will hardly do for the defeated party to claim that, in this discussion, all the ability is on their side.

We are charged with lacking foresight, and said to exaggerate. This charge of exaggeration brings to my mind a fact I mentioned, last month, at Horticultural Hall. The theatres, in many of our large cities, bring out, night after night, all the radical doctrines and all the startling scenes of "Uncle Tom." They preach immediate emancipation, and Slaves shoot their hunters to loud applause. Two years ago, sitting in this hall, I was myself somewhat startled by the assertion of my friend, Mr. PULLBURY, that the theatres would receive the gospel of Anti-Slavery truth earlier than the churches. A hiss went up from the galleries, and many in the audience were shocked by the remark. I asked myself whether I could endorse such a statement, and felt that I could not. I could not believe it to be true. Only two years have passed, and what was then deemed rant and fanaticism, by seven out of ten who heard it, has proved true. The theatre, bowing to its audience, has preached immediate emancipation, and given us the whole of "Uncle Tom;" while the pulpit is either silent or hostile, and in the columns of the theological papers, the work is subjected to criticism, to reproof, and its author to severe rebuke. Do not, therefore, friends, set down as extravagant every statement which your experience does not warrant. It may be that you and I have not studied the signs of the times quite as accurately as the speaker. Going up and down the land, coming into close contact with the feelings and prejudices of the community, he is sometimes a better judge than you are of its present state. An Abolitionist has more motives for watching and more means of finding out the true state of public opinion, than most of these careless critics who jeer at his assertions to-day, and are the first to cry, "Just what I said," when his prophecy becomes fact to-morrow.

Mr. ION thinks, also, that we have thrown away opportunities, and needlessly outraged the men and parties about us. Far from it. The Anti-Slavery movement was a patient and humble suppliant at every door whence any help could possibly be hoped. If we now repudiate and denounce some of our institutions, it is because we have faithfully tried them, and found them deaf to the claims of justice and humanity. Our great Leader, when he first meditated this crusade, did not

"At once, like a sunburst, his banner unfurl."

O, no! he sounded his way warily forward. Brought up in the strictest reverence for church organizations, his first effort was to enlist the clergymen of Boston in the support of his views. On their aid he counted confidently in his effort to preach immediate repentance of all sin. He did not go, with

malice propense, as some seem to imagine, up to that "attic" where Mayor OTIS with difficulty found him. He did not court hostility or seek exile. He did not sedulously endeavor to cut himself off from the sympathy and countenance of the community about him. O, no! A fervid disciple of the American Church, he conferred with some of the leading clergy of the city, and laid before them his convictions on the subject of Slavery.* He painted their responsibility, and tried to induce them to take from his shoulders the burden of so mighty a movement. He laid himself at their feet. He recognised the colossal strength of the Church; he knew that against their opposition it would be almost desperate to attempt to relieve the Slave. He entreated them, therefore, to take up the cause. But the Church turned away from him! They shut their doors upon him! They bade him compromise his convictions—smother one half of them, and support the Colonization movement, making his own auxiliary to that, or they would have none of him. Like Luther, he said—"Here I stand; God help me; I can do nothing else!" But the men who joined him were not persuaded that the case was so desperate. So they returned, each to his own local sect, and remained in them until some of us, myself among the number—later converts to the Anti-Slavery movement—thought they were slow and faltering in their obedience to conscience, and that they ought to have cut loose much sooner than they did. But a patience, that old sympathies would not allow to be exhausted, and associations, planted deeply in youth, and spreading over a large part of manhood, were too strong for any mere argument to dislodge them. So they still persisted in remaining in the Church. Their zeal was so fervent and their labors so abundant, that in some towns large societies were formed, led by most of the clergymen, and having almost all the church members on their lists. In those same towns now, you will not find one single Abolitionist, of any stamp whatever. They excuse their falling back by alleging that we have injured the cause by our extravagance and denunciation, and by the various other questions with which our names are associated. This might be a good reason why they should not work with us, but does it excuse their not working at all? These people have been once awakened, thoroughly instructed in the momentous character of the movement, and have acknowledged the rightful claim of the Slave on their sympathy and exertions. It is not possible that a few thousand persons, however extravagant, could prevent devoted men from finding some way to help such a cause, or at least manifesting their interest in it. But they have

* "The writer accompanied Mr. GARRISON, in 1829, in calling upon a number of prominent ministers in Boston, to secure their co-operation in this cause. *Our expectations of important assistance from them were, at that time, very sanguine.*"—[*Testimony of WILLIAM GOODELL, in a recent work entitled "SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY."*]

In an address on Slavery and Colonization, delivered by Mr. GARRISON, in the Park Street Church, Boston, July 4, 1829, (which was subsequently published in the *National Philanthropist*,) he said—"I call on the ambassadors of Christ, everywhere, to make known this proclamation, 'Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me.' I ask them to 'proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' I call on the churches of the living God to LEAD in this great enterprise."

not only left us, they have utterly deserted the Slave, in the hour when the interest of their sects came across his cause. Is it uncharitable to conjecture the reason? At the early period, however, to which I have referred, the Church was much exercised by the persistency of the Abolitionists in not going out from her. When I joined the Anti-Slavery ranks, sixteen years ago, the voice of the clergy was, "Will these pests *never* leave us? Will they still remain to trouble us? If you do not like us, there is the door?" When our friends had exhausted all entreaty, and tested the Christianity of that body, they shook off the dust of their feet, and came out of her.

At the outset, Mr. GARRISON called on the head of the Orthodox denomination — a man, compared with whose influence on the mind of New England, that of the statesman whose death you have just mourned was, I think, but as dust in the balance — a man who then held the Orthodoxy of Boston in his right hand, and who has since taken up the West by its four corners, and given it so largely to Puritanism — I mean the Rev. Dr. LYMAN BEECHER. Mr. GARRISON was one of those who bowed to the spell of the matchless eloquence that then fulminated over our Zion. He waited on his favorite divine, and urged him to give to the new movement the incalculable aid of his name and countenance. He was patiently heard. He was allowed to unfold his plans and array his facts. The reply of the veteran was, "Mr. GARRISON, I have too many irons in the fire to put in another." My friend said, "Doctor, you had better take all the irons you have in the fire out, and put this one in, if you mean well either to the religion or the civil liberty of our country." (Cheers.)

The great Orthodox leader did not rest with merely refusing to put another iron into his fire; he attempted to limit the irons of other men. As President of Lane Theological Seminary, he endeavored to prevent the students from investigating the subject of Slavery. The result, we all remember, was a strenuous resistance on the part of a large number of the students, led by that remarkable man, THEODORE D. WELD. The Right triumphed, and Lane Seminary lost her character and noblest pupils at the same time. She has languished ever since, even with such a President. Why should I follow Dr. BEECHER into those Ecclesiastical Conventions where he has been tried, and found wanting, in fidelity to the Slave? He has done no worse, indeed, he has done much better, than most of his class. His opposition has been always open and manly.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is something in the blood, which, men tell us, brings out virtues and defects, even when they have lain dormant for a generation. Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physicians say. The blood whose warm currents of eloquent aid my friend solicited in vain in that generation, has sprung voluntarily to his assistance in the next — both from the pulpit and the press — to rouse the world by the vigor and pathos of its appeals. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Even on that great triumph I would say a word. Marked and unequalled as has been that success, remember, in explanation of the phenomenon — for "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is rather an event than a book — remember this: if the old Anti-Slavery movement had not roused the sympathies of Mrs. Stowe, the book had never been written;

if that movement had not raised up hundreds of thousands of hearts to sympathise with the Slave, the book had never been read. (Cheers.) Not that the genius of the author has not made the triumph all her own; not that the unrivalled felicity of its execution has not trebled, quadrupled, increased ten-fold, if you please, the number of readers; but there must be a spot even for Archimedes to rest his lever upon, before he can move the world, (applause,) and this effort of genius, consecrated to the noblest purpose, might have fallen dead and unnoticed in 1835. It is the Anti-Slavery movement which has changed 1835 to 1852. Those of us familiar with Anti-Slavery literature know well that RICHARD HILDRETH's "Archy Moore," now "The White Slave," was a book of eminent ability; that it owed its want of success to no lack of genius, but only to the fact, that it was a work born out of due time; that the Anti-Slavery cause had not then aroused sufficient numbers, on the wings of whose enthusiasm even the most delightful fiction could have risen into world-wide influence and repute. To the cause which had changed 1835 to 1852 is due something of the influence of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

The Abolitionists have never overlooked the wonderful power that the wand of the novelist was yet to wield in their behalf over the hearts of the world. FREDERIKA BREMER only expressed the common sentiment of many of us, when she declared that "the fate of the negro was the romance of our history." Again and again, from my earliest knowledge of the cause, have I heard the opinion, that, in the debateable land between Freedom and Slavery, in the thrilling incidents of the escape and sufferings of the fugitive, and the perils of his friends, the future Walter Scott of America would find the "border-land" of his romance, and the most touching incidents of his "sixty years since;" and that the literature of America would gather its freshest laurels from that field.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for our treatment of the Church. We clung to it as long as we hoped to make it useful. Disappointed in that, we have tried to expose its paltering and hypocrisy on this question, broadly and with unflinching boldness, in hopes to purify and bring it to our aid. Our labors with the great religious societies, with the press, with the institutions of learning, have been as untiring, and almost as unsuccessful. We have tried to do our duty to every public question that has arisen, which could be made serviceable in rousing general attention. The Right of Petition, the Power of Congress, the Internal Slave Trade, Texas, the Compromise measures, the Fugitive Slave Law, the motions of leading men, the tactics of parties, have all been watched and used with sagacity and effect as means to produce a change in public opinion. Dr. CHANNING has thanked the Abolition party, in the name of all the lovers of free thought and free speech, for having vindicated that right, when all others seemed ready to surrender it; vindicated it at the cost of reputation, ease, property, even life itself. The only blood that has ever been shed, on this side the ocean, in defence of the freedom of the press, was the blood of LOVEJOY, one of their number. In December, 1836, Dr. CHANNING spoke of their position in these terms:—

"Whilst, in obedience to conscience, they have refrained from opposing force to force, they have still persevered, amidst menace and insult, in bearing their testimony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deep convictions. Of such men, I do not hesitate to say, that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails, or who win shouts of applause by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeopardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the Abolitionists this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speech, they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety, had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. I know not where these outrages would have stopped, had they not met resistance from their first destined victims. The newspaper press, with a few exceptions, uttered no genuine indignant rebuke of the wrong-doers, but rather countenanced by its gentle censures the reign of Force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny, under which a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscribe all discussion of Slavery; and had the spirit of violence, which selected associations as its first objects, succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have been easily turned against any and every individual, who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject. It is hard to say, to what outrage the fettered press of the country might not have been reconciled. I thank the Abolitionists that, in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray. Their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their dearest liberties, taught the lawless that they had a foe to contend with, whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them."

No one, Mr. Chairman, deserves more of that honor than he whose chair you now occupy. Our youthful city can boast of but few places of historic renown. But I know no one which coming time is more likely to keep in memory, than the roof which FRANCIS JACKSON offered to the Anti-Slavery women of Boston, when Mayor LYMAN confessed he was unable to protect their meeting, and when the only protection the laws could afford Mr. GARRISON was the shelter of the common jail.

Sir, when a nation sets itself to do evil, and all its leading forces, wealth, party, and piety, join in the career, it is impossible but that those who offer a constant opposition should be hated and maligned, no matter how wise, cautious, and well-planned their course may be. We are peculiar sufferers in this way. The community has come to hate its reproving Nathan so bitterly, that even those whom the relenting part is beginning to regard as standard-bearers of the Anti-Slavery host, think it unwise to avow any connection or sympathy with him. I refer to some of the leaders of the political movement against Slavery. They feel it to be their mission to marshal and use as effectively as possible the present convictions of the people. They cannot afford to encumber themselves with the odium which twenty years of angry agitation have engendered in great sects sore from unsparing rebuke, parties galled by constant defeat, and leading men provoked by unexpected

exposure. They are willing to confess, privately, that our movement produced theirs, and that its continued existence is the very breath of their life. But, at the same time, they would fain walk on the road, without being soiled by too close contact with the rough pioneers who threw it up. They are wise and honorable, and their silence is very expressive.

When I speak of their eminent position and acknowledged ability, another thought strikes me. Who converted these men and their distinguished associates? It is said we have shown neither sagacity in plans, nor candor in discussion, nor ability in argument. Who then or what converted BURLINGAME and WILSON, SUMNER and ADAMS, PALFREY and MANN, CHASE and HALE, and PHILLIPS and GIDDINGS? Who taught the *Christian Register*, the *Daily Advertiser*, and that class of prints, that there were such things as a Slave and a Slaveholder in the land, and so gave them some more intelligent basis than their mere instincts to hate WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON? (Shouts and laughter.) What magic wand was it whose touch made the toadying servility of the land start up the real demon that it was, and at the same time gathered into the Slave's service the professional ability, ripe culture, and personal integrity that grace the Free Soil ranks? We never argue! These men, then, were converted by simple denunciation! They were all converted by the "hot," "reckless," "ranting," "bigoted," "fanatic" GARRISON, who never troubled himself about facts, nor stopped to argue with an opponent, but straightway knocked him down! (Roars of laughter and cheers.) My old and valued friend, Mr. SUMNER, often boasts that he was a reader of *The Liberator* before I was. Do not criticise too much the agency by which such men were converted. That blade has a double edge. Our reckless course—our empty rant—our fanaticism, has made Abolitionists of some of the best and ablest men in the land. We are inclined to go on, and see if even with such poor tools we cannot make some more. (Enthusiastic applause.) Anti-Slavery zeal and the roused conscience of the "godless comeouters" made the trembling South demand the Fugitive Slave Law; and the Fugitive Slave Law "provoked" Mrs. STOWE to the good work of "Uncle Tom." That is something! (Cheers.) Let me say, in passing, that you will nowhere find an earlier or more generous appreciation, or more flowing eulogy, of these men and their labors, than in the columns of *The Liberator*. No one, however feeble, has ever peeped or muttered, in any quarter, that the vigilant eye of the Pioneer has not recognised him. He has stretched out the right hand of a most cordial welcome the moment any man's face was turned Zionward. (Loud cheers.)

I do not mention these things to praise Mr. GARRISON; I do not stand here for that purpose. You will not deny—if you do, I can prove it—that the movement of the Abolitionists converted these men. Their constituents were converted by it. The assault upon the right of petition, upon the right to print and speak of Slavery, the denial of the right of Congress over the District, the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, were measures which the Anti-Slavery movement provoked, and the discussion of which has made all the Abolitionists we have. The Anti-Slavery cause, then, converted these men; it gave them a constituency; it gave them an opportunity

to speak, and it gave them a public to listen. The Anti-Slavery cause gave them their votes, gave them their offices, furnished them their facts, gave them their audience. If you tell me they cherished all these principles in their own breasts before Mr. GARRISON appeared, I can only say, if the Anti-Slavery movement did not give them their ideas, it surely gave them the courage to utter them.

In such circumstances, is it not singular that the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON has never been pronounced on the floor of the United States Congress, linked with any epithet but that of contempt! No one of those men who owe their ideas, their station, their audience, to him, have ever thought it worth their while to utter one word in grateful recognition of the power that called them into being. When obliged, by the course of their argument, to treat the question historically, they can go across the water to CLARKSON and WILBERFORCE—yes, to a safe salt-water distance. (Laughter.) As DANIEL WEBSTER, when he was talking to the farmers of Western New York, and wished to contrast Slave labor and Free labor, did not dare to compare New York with Virginia—sister States under the same government, planted by the same race, worshipping at the same altar, speaking the same language,—identical in all respects, save that one in which he wished to seek the contrast; but, no; he compared it with *Brazil*—(cheers and laughter,)—the contrast was so close! (Renewed cheers.) Catholic—Protestant; Spanish—Saxon; despotism—municipal institutions; readers of Lope de Vega and of Shakspeare; mutterers of the Mass—children of the Bible! But Virginia is too near home! So is GARRISON! One would have thought there was something in the human breast that would sometimes break through policy. These noble-hearted men whom I have named must surely have found quite irksome the constant practice of what Dr. GARDNER used to call “that despicable virtue, *prudence*!”—(laughter)—one would have thought, when they heard that name spoken with contempt, their ready eloquence would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a word that threatened him with insult. But it never came—never! (Sensation.) I do not say I blame them. Perhaps they thought they should serve the cause better by drawing a broad black line between themselves and him. Perhaps they thought the devil could be cheated;—I do not think he can. (Laughter and cheers.)

We are perfectly willing—I am for one—to be the dead lumber that shall make a path for these men into the light and love of the people. We hope for nothing better. Use us freely, in any way, for the Slave. When the temple is finished, the tools will not complain that they are thrown aside, let who will lead up the nation to “put on the topstone with shoutings.” But while so much remains to be done, while our little camp is beleaguered all about, do nothing to weaken his influence, whose sagacity, more than any other single man’s, has led us up hither, and whose name is identified with that movement which the North still heeds, and the South still fears the most. After all, Mr. Chairman, this is no hard task. We know very well, that, notwithstanding this loud clamor about our harsh judgments of men and things, our opinions differ very little from those of

our Free Soil friends, or of intelligent men generally, when you really get at them. It has even been said, that one of that family which has made itself so infamously conspicuous here, in executing the Fugitive Slave Law, a Judge, whose earnest defence of that Law we all heard in Faneuil Hall, did himself, but a little while before, arrange for a fugitive to be hid till pursuit was over. I hope it is true — it would be an honorable inconsistency. And if it be not true of him, we know it is of others. Yet it is base to incite others to deeds, at which, whenever we are hidden from public notice, our own hearts recoil! But thus we see that when men lay aside the judicial ermine, the senator's robe, or the party collar, and sit down in private life, you can hardly distinguish their tones from ours. Their eyes seem as anointed as our *own*. As in Pope's day —

———"At all we laugh they laugh, no doubt;
The only difference is, we dare laugh out."

Caution is not always good policy in a cause like ours. It is said that when Napoleon saw the day going against him, he used to throw away all the rules of war, and trust himself to the hot impetuosity of his soldiers. The masses are governed more by impulse than conviction; and even were it not so, the convictions of most men are on our side, and this will surely appear, if we can only pierce the crust of their prejudice or indifference. I observe that our Free Soil friends never stir their audience so deeply as when some individual leaps beyond the platform, and strikes upon the very heart of the people. Men listen to discussions of laws and tactics with ominous patience. It is when Mr. SUMNER, in Faneuil Hall, avows his determination to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law, and cries out, "I was a man before I was a Commissioner,"—when Mr. GIDDINGS says of the fall of Slavery, quoting ADAMS, "Let it come; if it must come in *blood*, yet I say, LET IT COME!"—that their associates on the platform are sure they are wrecking the party—while many a heart beneath beats its first pulse of Anti-Slavery life.

These are brave words. When I compare them with the general tone of Free Soil men in Congress, I distrust the atmosphere of Washington and of politics. These men move about, Sauls and Goliaths among us, taller by many a cubit. There they lose port and stature. Mr. SUMNER's speech in the Senate unsays no part of his Faneuil Hall pledge. But, though discussing the same topic, no one would gather from any word or argument that the speaker ever took such ground as he did in Faneuil Hall. It is all through, the *law*, the *manner* of the surrender, not the surrender itself, of the Slave that he objects to. As my friend Mr. PILLSBURY so forcibly says, so far as anything in the speech shows, he puts the Slave behind the jury trial, behind the *habeas corpus* act, and behind the new interpretation of the Constitution; and says to the Slave claimant—"You must get through all these, before you reach him; but if you *can* get through all these, you may have him!" It was no tone like this which made the old Hall rock! Not if he got through twelve jury trials, and forty *habeas corpus* acts, and Constitutions built high as yonder monument, would he permit so much as the

shadow of the little finger of the Slave claimant to touch the Slave ! (Great applause.) At least, so he was understood. In an elaborate discussion by the leader of the political Anti-Slavery party, of the whole topic of Fugitive Slaves, you do not find one protest against the surrender itself, one frank expression on the constitutional clause, or any indication of the speaker's final purpose, should any one be properly claimed under that provision. It was under no such uncertain trumpet that the Anti-Slavery host was originally marshalled. The tone is that of the German soldiers whom Napoleon routed. They did not care, they said, for the defeat, but only that they were not beat according to rule. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. MANN, in his speech February 15, 1850, says : — "THE STATES BEING SEPARATED, I WOULD AS SOON RETURN MY OWN BROTHER OR SISTER INTO BONDAGE, AS I WOULD RETURN A FUGITIVE SLAVE. BEFORE GOD, AND CHRIST, AND ALL CHRISTIAN MEN, THEY ARE MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS." What a condition ! from the lips, too, of a champion of the Higher Law ! Whether the States be separate or united, neither my brother nor any other man's brother shall, with my consent, go back to bondage. (Enthusiastic cheers.) So speaks the *heart* — Mr. MANN's version is that of the politician.

Mr. MANN's recent speech in August, 1852, has the same non-committal tone to which I have alluded in Mr. SUMNER's. While professing, in the most eloquent terms, his loyalty to the Higher Law, Mr. SUTHERLAND asked — "Is there, in Mr. MANN's opinion, any conflict between that Higher Law and the Constitution ? If so, what is it ? If not so, why introduce an irrelevant topic into the debate ?" *Mr. Mann avoided any reply, and asked not to be interrupted !* Is that the frankness which becomes an Abolitionist ? Can such concealment help any cause ? The design of Mr. SUTHERLAND is evident. If Mr. MANN had allowed there was no conflict between the Higher Law and the Constitution, all his remarks were futile, and out of order. But if he asserted that any such conflict existed, how did he justify himself in swearing to support that instrument ? — a question our Free Soil friends are slow to meet. Mr. MANN saw the dilemma, and avoided it by silence !

The same speech contains the usual deprecatory assertions that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with Slavery in the States ; that they "consent to let Slavery remain where it is." If he means that he, HORACE MANN, a moral and accountable being, "consents to let Slavery remain where it is," all the rest of his speech is sound and fury, signifying nothing. If he means that he, HORACE MANN, as a *politician and party man*, consents to that, but, elsewhere and otherwise, will do his best to abolish this "all-comprehending wickedness of Slavery, in which every wrong and every crime has its natural home" — then he should have plainly said so. Otherwise, his disclaimer is but an unworthy trick, which could have deceived none. He must have known that all the South care for is the *action*, not in what *capacity* the deed is done.

Mr. GIDDINGS is more careful in his statement ; but, judged by his speech on the "Platforms," how little does he seem to understand either his own duty, or the true philosophy of the cause he serves ! He says —

"We, Sir, would drive the Slave question from discussion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with Slavery; let the Federal Power wash its hands from that institution; let us purify ourselves from its contagion; leave it with the States, who alone have the power to sustain it—then, Sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing more to do with it; our time will be no more occupied with it; and, like a band of freemen, a band of brothers, we could meet here, and legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race."

Mr. SUMNER speaks in the same strain. He says—

"The time will come when Courts or Congress will declare, that nowhere under the Constitution can man hold property in man. For the republic, such a decree will be the way of peace and safety. As Slavery is banished from the National jurisdiction, it will cease to vex our National politics. It may linger in the States as a local institution, but it will no longer endanger national animosities when it no longer demands national support." * * * "For himself, he knows *no better aim* under the Constitution than to bring the Government back to the precise position which it occupied" when it was launched.

This seems to me a very mistaken strain. Whenever Slavery is banished from our National jurisdiction, it will be a momentous gain, a vast stride. But let us not mistake the half-way house for the end of the journey. I need not say that it matters not to Abolitionists under what special law Slavery exists. Their battle lasts while it exists anywhere, and I doubt not Mr. SUMNER and Mr. GIDDINGS feel themselves enlisted for the whole war. I will even suppose, what neither of these gentlemen states, that their plan includes not only that Slavery shall be abolished in the District and Territories, but that the Slave basis of representation shall be struck from the Constitution, and the Slave-surrender clause construed away. But even then, does Mr. GIDDINGS or Mr. SUMNER really believe that Slavery, existing in its full force in the States, "will cease to vex our national politics?" Can they point to any State where a powerful oligarchy, possessed of immense wealth, has ever existed, without attempting to meddle in the government? Even now, do not manufacturing, banking, and commercial capital perpetually vex our politics? Why should not Slave capital exert the same influence? Do they imagine that a hundred thousand men, possessed of *two thousand millions of dollars*, which they feel the spirit of the age is seeking to tear from their grasp, will not eagerly catch at all the support they can obtain by getting the control of the Government? In a land where the dollar is almighty, "where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the effort to become so," do they doubt that such an oligarchy will generally succeed? Besides, banking and manufacturing capital are not urged by despair to seek a controlling influence in politics. They know they are about equally safe, whichever party rules—that no party wishes to legislate their rights away. Slave property knows that its being allowed to exist depends on its having the virtual control of the Government. Its constant presence in politics is dictated, therefore, by despair as well as by the wish

to secure fresh privileges. Money, however, is not the only strength of the Slave Power. That indeed were enough in an age when capitalists are our feudal barons. But, though driven entirely from National shelter, the Slaveholders would have the strength of old associations, and of peculiar laws in their own States, which gives those States wholly into their hands. A weaker prestige, fewer privileges, and less comparative wealth, have enabled the British aristocracy to rule England for two centuries, though the root of their strength was cut at Naseby. It takes ages for deeply rooted institutions to die. And driving Slavery into the States will hardly be our Naseby. Whoever, therefore, lays the flattering unction to his soul, that while Slavery exists anywhere in the States, our legislators will sit down "like a band of brothers," — unless they are all Slaveholding brothers, — is doomed to find himself woefully mistaken. Mr. ADAMS, ten years ago, refused to sanction this doctrine of his friend, Mr. GIDDINGS, combating it ably and eloquently in his well-known reply to INGERSOLL. Though Mr. ADAMS touches on but one point, the principle he lays down has many other applications.

But is Mr. GIDDINGS willing to sit down with Slaveholders, "like a band of brothers," knowing all the time that they are tyrants at home, and not seek to use the common strength to protect their victims? Does he not know that it is impossible for Free States and Slave States to unite under any form of Constitution, no matter how clean the parchment may be, without the compact resulting in new strength to the Slave system? It is the unimpaired strength of Massachusetts and New York, and the youthful vigor of Ohio, that, even now, enable bankrupt Carolina to hold up the institution. Every nation must maintain peace within her limits. No government can exist which does not fulfil that function. When we say the Union will maintain peace in Carolina, that being a Slave State, what does "peace" mean? It means keeping the Slave beneath the heel of his master. Now, even on the principle of two wrongs making a right, if we put this great weight of a common government into the scale of the Slaveholder, we are bound to add something equal to the Slave's side. But, no; Mr. GIDDINGS is content to give the Slaveholder the irresistible and organic help of a common government, and bind himself to utter no word, and move not a finger, in his civil capacity, to help the Slave! An Abolitionist would find himself not much at home, I fancy, in that "band of brothers"!

And Mr. SUMNER "knows no better aim, under the Constitution, than to bring back the Government" to where it was in 1789! Has the voyage been so very honest and prosperous a one, in his opinion, that his only wish is to start again with the same ship, the same crew, and the same sailing orders? Grant all he claims, as to the state of public opinion, the intentions of leading men, and the form of our institutions at that period; still, with all these checks on wicked men, and helps to good ones, here we are, according to his own showing, ruled by Slavery, tainted to the core with Slavery, and binding the infamous Fugitive Slave Law like an honorable frontlet on our brows! The more accurate and truthful his glowing picture of the public virtue of 1789, the stronger my argument. If even all those great patri-

ots, and all that enthusiasm for justice and liberty, did not avail to keep us safe in such a Union, what will? In such desperate circumstances, can his statesmanship devise no better aim than to try the same experiment over again, under precisely the same conditions? What new guarantees does he propose to prevent the voyage from being turned again into a piratical Slave-trading cruise? None! Have sixty years taught us nothing? In 1680, the English thought, in recalling Charles II., that the memory of that scaffold which had once darkened the windows of Whitehall, would be guarantee enough for his good behaviour. But, spite of the spectre, Charles II. repeated Charles I., and James outdid him. Wiser by this experience, when the nation, in 1689, got another chance, they trusted to no guarantees, but so arranged the very elements of their government, that William III. *could not* repeat Charles I. Let us profit by the lesson. Those mistakes of leading men merit constant attention. Such remarks, as those I have quoted, uttered from the high places of political life, however carefully guarded, have a sad influence on the rank and file of the party. By such speeches and avowals, the Free Soil presses are encouraged to advise, as in Ohio, that we should be satisfied to have Slaves sent back, for the present, by State authority and jury trials; holding out the hope that thus we shall sooner and more readily abolish the whole system. The Anti-Slavery awakening has cost too many years and too much labor to risk letting its energy be turned into a wrong channel, or balked by fruitless experiments. Neither the Slave nor the country must be cheated a second time.

Mr. Chairman, when I remember the grand port of these men elsewhere, and witness this confusion of ideas, and veiling of their proud crests to party necessities, they seem to me to lose in Washington something of their old giant proportions. How often have we witnessed this change! It seems the inevitable result of political life under any government, but especially under ours: and we are surprised at it in these men, only because we fondly hoped they would be exceptions to the general rule. It was CHAMFORT, I think, who first likened a Republican Senate House to MILTON's Pandemonium;—another proof of the rare insight French writers have shown in criticising Republican Institutions. The Capitol at Washington always brings to my mind that other Capitol, which in MILTON's great Epic "rose like an exhalation" "from the burning marl"—that towered palace, "with starry lamps and blazing cressets" hung—with "roof of fretted gold" and stately height, its hall "like a covered field." You remember, Sir, the host of archangels gathered round it, and how thick the airy crowd

"Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! They but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees.

Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amid the hall
Of that infernal court."

Mr. Chairman, they got no farther than the hall ! (Cheers.) They were not, in the current phrase, "*a healthy party!*" The healthy party, — the men who made no compromise in order to come under that arch, — MILTON describes further on, where he says —

—— "But far within,
And in their own dimensions, like themselves,
The great seraphic lords and cherubim,
In close recess and secret conclave, sat;
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats
Frequent and full."

These were the healthy party ! (Loud applause.) These are the CASSES and the HOUSTONS, the FOOTES and the SEULES, the CLAYS, the WEBSTERS and the DOUGLASSES, that bow no lofty forehead in the dust, but can find ample room and verge enough under the Constitution. Our friends go down there, and must be dwarfed into pigmies before they can find space within the lists ! (Cheers.)

It would be superfluous to say that we grant the entire sincerity and true-heartedness of these men. But in critical times, when a wrong step entails most disastrous consequences, to "mean well" is not enough. Sincerity is no shield for any man from the criticism of his fellow-laborers. I do not fear that such men as these will take offence at our discussion of their views and conduct. Long years of hard labor, in which we have borne at least our share, have resulted in a golden opportunity. How to use it, friends differ. Shall we stand courteously silent, and let these men play out the play, when, to our thinking, their plan will slacken the zeal, balk the hopes, and waste the efforts of the Slave's friends ? No ! I know CHARLES SUMNER's love for the cause so well, that I am sure he will welcome my criticism whenever I deem his counsel wrong ; that he will hail every effort to serve our common client more efficiently. (Great cheering.) It is not his honor nor mine that is at issue ; not his feeling nor mine that is to be consulted. The only question for either of us is, What in these golden moments can be done — where can the hardest blow be struck ? (Loud applause.) I hope I am just to Mr. SUMNER ; I have known him long, and honor him. I know his genius — I honor his virtues ; yet if, from his high place, he sends out counsels which I think dangerous to the cause, I am bound to raise my voice against them. I do my duty in a private communication to him first, then in public to his friends and mine. The friendship that will not bear this criticism is but the frost-work of a winter's morning, which the sun looks upon and it is gone. His friendship will survive all that I say of him, and mine will survive all that he shall say of me ; and this is the only way in which the Anti-Slavery cause can be served. Truth, success, victory, triumph over the obstacles that beset us — this is all either of us wants. (Cheers.)

If all I have said to you is untrue, if I have exaggerated, explain to me this fact. In 1831, Mr. GARRISON commenced a paper advocating the doctrine of immediate emancipation. He had against him the thirty thousand churches and all the clergy of the country — its wealth, its commerce, its press. In 1831, what was the state of things ? There was the most entire

ignorance and apathy on the Slave question. If men knew of the existence of Slavery, it was only as a part of picturesque Virginia life. No one preached, no one talked, no one wrote about it. No whisper of it stirred the surface of the political sea. The Church heard of it occasionally, when some Colonization agent asked funds to send the blacks to Africa. Old school books tainted with some Anti-Slavery selections, had passed out of use, and new ones were compiled to suit the times. Soon as any dissent from the prevailing faith appeared, every one set himself to crush it. The pulpits preached at it: the press denounced it: mobs tore down houses, threw presses into the fire and the stream, and shot the editors: religious conventions tried to smother it: parties arrayed themselves against it. DANIEL WEBSTER boasted in the Senate, that he had never introduced the subject of Slavery to that body, and never would. Mr. CLAY, in 1839, makes a speech for the Presidency, in which he says, that to discuss the subject of Slavery is moral treason, and that no man has a right to introduce the subject into Congress. Mr. BENTON, in 1844, laid down his platform, and he not only denies the right, but asserts he never has and never will discuss the subject. Yet Mr. CLAY, from 1839 down to his death, hardly made a remarkable speech of any kind, except on Slavery. Mr. WEBSTER, having indulged now and then in a little easy rhetoric, as at NIBLO's and elsewhere, opens his mouth in 1840, generously contributing his aid to both sides, and stops talking about it only when death closes his lips. Mr. BENTON's six or eight speeches in the United States Senate have all been on the subject of Slavery in the Southwestern section of the country, and form the basis of whatever claim he has to the character of a statesman, and he owes his seat in the next Congress somewhat, perhaps, to Anti-Slavery pretensions! The Whig and Democratic parties pledged themselves just as emphatically against the Anti-Slavery discussion — against agitation and free speech. These men said, "It shan't be talked about, it won't be talked about!" These are *your statesmen!* — men who understand the present, that is, and mould the future! The man who understands his own time, and whose genius moulds the future to his views, he is a statesman, is he not? These men devoted themselves to banks, to the tariff, to internal improvements, to constitutional and financial questions. They said to Slavery — "Back! no entrance here! We pledge ourselves against you." And then there came up a humble printer boy, who whipped them into the traces, and made them talk, like Hotspur's starling, nothing but Slavery. He scattered all these gigantic shadows — tariff, bank, constitutional questions, financial questions — and Slavery, like the colossal head in Walpole's romance, came up and filled the whole political horizon! (Enthusiastic applause.) Yet you must remember he is not a statesman; he is a "fanatic." He has no discipline — Mr. "Ion" says so; he does not understand the "discipline that is essential to victory"! This man did not understand his own time — he did not know what the future was to be — he was not able to shape it — he had no "prudence" — he had no "foresight"! DANIEL WEBSTER says, "I have never introduced this subject, and never will" — and died broken-hearted because he had not been able to talk

enough about it. BENTON says, "I will never speak of Slavery"—and lives to break with his party on this issue! Mr. CLAY says it is "moral treason" to introduce the subject into Congress, and lives to see Congress turned into an Anti-Slavery Debating Society, to suit the purpose of one "too powerful individual"!

These were statesmen, mark you! Two of them have gone to their graves covered with eulogy; and our national stock of eloquence is all insufficient to describe how profound and far-reaching was the sagacity of DANIEL WEBSTER! Remember who it was that said, in 1831, "I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—and I will be heard!" (Repeated cheers.) That speaker has lived twenty-two years, and the complaint of twenty-three millions of people is, "Shall we never hear of anything but Slavery?" (Cheers.) I heard Dr. KIRK, of Boston, say in his own pulpit, when he returned from London—where he had been as a representative to the "Evangelical Alliance"—"I went up to London, and they asked me what I thought of the question of immediate emancipation? They examined us all. Is an American never to travel anywhere in the world, but men will throw this troublesome question in his face?" Well, it is all HIS fault [pointing to Mr. GARRISON.] (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Now, when we come to talk of statesmanship, of sagacity in choosing time and measures, of endeavor, by proper means, to right the public mind, of keen insight into the present and potent sway over the future, it seems to me that the Abolitionists, who have taken—whether for good or for ill, whether to their discredit or to their praise—this country by the four corners, and shaken it until you can hear nothing but Slavery, whether you travel in railroad or steamboat, whether you enter the hall of legislation or read the columns of a newspaper—it seems to me that such men may point to the present aspect of the nation, to their originally avowed purpose, to the pledges and efforts of all your great men against them, and then let you determine to which side the credit of sagacity and statesmanship belongs. Napoleon busied himself, at St. Helena, in showing how WELLINGTON ought not to have conquered at Waterloo. The world has never got time to listen to the explanation. Sufficient for it that the Allies entered Paris. In like manner, it seems hardly the province of a defeated Church and State to deny the skill of measures by which they have been conquered!

It may sound strange to some, this claim for Mr. GARRISON of a profound statesmanship. Men have heard him styled a mere fanatic so long, that they are incompetent to judge him fairly. "The phrases men are accustomed," says Goethe, "to repeat incessantly, end by becoming convictions, and ossify the organs of intelligence." I cannot accept you, therefore, as my jury. I appeal from Festus to Cæsar; from the prejudice of our streets to the common sense of the world, and to your children.

Every thoughtful and unprejudiced mind must see that such an evil as Slavery will yield only to the most radical treatment. If you consider the work we have to do, you will not think us needlessly aggressive, or that we dig down unnecessarily deep in laying the foundations of our enterprise.

A money power of two thousand millions of dollars, as the prices of Slaves now range, held by a small body of able and desperate men; that body raised into a political aristocracy by special constitutional provisions; cotton, the product of Slave labor, forming the basis of our whole foreign commerce, and the commercial class thus subsidized; the press bought up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart of the common people chilled by a bitter prejudice against the black race; our leading men bribed, by ambition, either to silence or open hostility—in such a land, on what shall an Abolitionist rely? On a few cold prayers, mere lip service, and never from the heart? On a Church Resolution, hidden often in its records, and meant only as a decent cover for servility in daily practice? On political parties, with their superficial influence at best, and seeking, ordinarily, only to use existing prejudices to the best advantage? Slavery has deeper root here than any aristocratic institution has in Europe; and Politics is but the common pulso-beat of which Revolution is the fever spasm. Yet we have seen European aristocracy survive storms which seemed to reach down to the primal strata of European life. Shall we then trust to mere Politics where even Revolution has failed? How shall the stream rise above its fountain? Where shall our Church organizations or parties get strength to attack their great parent and moulder, the Slave Power? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus? The old jest of one who tried to lift himself in his own basket, is but a tame picture of the man who imagines that, by working solely through existing sects and parties, he can destroy Slavery. Mechanics say nothing but an earthquake, strong enough to move all Egypt, can bring down the Pyramids.

Experience has confirmed these views. The Abolitionists who have acted on them have a "short method" with all unbelievers. They have but to point to their own success, in contrast with every other man's failure. To waken the nation to its real state, and chain it to the consideration of this one duty, is half the work. So much we have done. Slavery has been made the question of this generation. To startle the South to madness, so that every step she takes, in her blindness, is one step more toward ruin, is much. This we have done. Witness Texas and the Fugitive Slave Law. To have elaborated for the nation the only plan of redemption, pointed out the only Exodus from this "sea of troubles," is much. This we claim to have done in our motto of IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION ON THE SOIL. The closer any statesmanlike mind looks into the question, the more favor our plan finds with it. The Christian asks fairly of the Infidel, "If this Religion be not from God, how do you explain its triumph, and the history of the first three centuries?" Our question is similar. If our agitation has not been wisely planned and conducted, explain for us the history of the last twenty years! Experience is a safe light to walk by, and he is not a rash man who expects success in future from the same means which have secured it in times past.

NOTE.

SINCE the publication of my speech in *The Liberator*, delivered at the last Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Mrs. Stowe has, very kindly, addressed me a letter, from which I extract all relating to Dr. BEECHER:—

“One part of your speech occasioned me pain. You know what it is, I presume, and you will be glad, I also presume, to find that you have overstated the subject. I will give you the facts of the case, and leave it to your own honorable mind to judge what abatement should be made in the case. My father did *not* silence the discussion in Lane Seminary. Those resolutions of the Trustees were not passed at his request, either expressed or implied. They were passed while he and my husband were here in New England. They were passed with such determination, and in such a state of feeling, that they had no choice, except to throw up their professorships or submit to them. My father being, as you know, in the advance party of the church in theology, was at that time as much a persecuted man in the Presbyterian church, as WM. LLOYD GARRISON has been in the world. Such bitter, unscrupulous enmity, such bigotry, such persecution, can only be paralleled in the history of the Abolitionists. To destroy his influence, to detach from him all his friends, to break down the Institution he was trying to build, and to force him away from the Western country, these were the objects in view. THEODORE WELD's enthusiasm, and the whirlwind of excitement which he produced, were equally welcomed by this party as so much capital to be used against him. With all credit to my good brother THEODORE, I must say that prudence is not his forte, and that there was a plentiful lack of that useful article in all those worthy reformers. I sympathise most cordially in that generous contempt for prudence, which seems to be a necessary part of young Luthers; but I cannot help seeing that the want of it was rather unfortunate in that crisis. It seems to me, that it is not necessary always to present a disagreeable subject in the most disagreeable way possible, and needlessly to shock prejudices which we must combat at any rate. That, however, is a matter of opinion: I will not insist upon it. But the simple question before my father was, either to give up the enterprise of Lane Seminary, or to submit temporarily to those regulations. So much for that.”

I gladly give Dr. BEECHER the benefit of this statement by his daughter, and well recollect how every free heart sympathised with him in his conflict

with bigoted and unscrupulous foes. But, with all respect for Mrs. STOWE, I cannot see that the facts she states form any excuse for his conduct as President of Lane Seminary. They seem to me to deepen the fault. The students at the Seminary were not school-boys, but of mature age, and some of them graduates of other Colleges, preparing for the ministry. At no time did their Anti-Slavery labors or discussions interfere with their regular studies, lead them to omit a recitation, or to break the established rules of the Institution. Such men the Trustees forbade either to discuss the Slave question in public, or to converse about it in private! They issued this order in deference to a corrupt public opinion, and from fear of a mob. Surely this was to sacrifice the Slave to the welfare of the Seminary.

In these circumstances, Mrs. STOWE says Dr. BEECHER submitted to those orders, which he had neither requested nor advised, in order to disarm his Presbyterian enemies, and save the Institution. That is, against his own judgment, he sacrificed the Slave to his own standing with his sect, and to the welfare of Lane Seminary. This is just what the clergy of the United States are doing at the present moment. Few hate the Slave for his own sake. They only sacrifice *his rights* to their own popularity, to their sect or party, — to something they like better, or value more. Those familiar with the history of Lane Seminary will bear me out in the assertion, that whatever was Dr. BEECHER's conduct or language in private, he pursued such a course of *action*, that the public inferred, had a right to infer, and could not but infer, that his *heart* was with the Trustees. When, after leaving the Seminary, the young men began to lecture on Slavery, in that neighborhood, Dr. BEECHER's name and course were quoted by professing Christians as a reason for refusing to give them a hearing.

We have never asked that any man, or body of men, should devote themselves exclusively to the Anti-Slavery cause. But we have claimed that they should give it a fair share of attention; and, above all, that they should never repudiate or deny it, even for an hour, in order to save or to increase their own popularity, or build up a favorite project. All good causes are a brotherhood. We have no right to repudiate one, or to sacrifice its claims, that we may be more able to serve another. Indeed, this is not possible, as the result at Lane Seminary shows. The Institution began to die from that hour.

With regard to Mr. WELD's "prudence," justice to him requires a word. No reformer has ever been thought prudent by his cotemporaries, not even those who turned the world upside down eighteen hundred years ago. But, during that very visit to New England, to which Mrs. STOWE refers, at the very moment the Trustees were passing their Resolutions, Dr. BEECHER, who had but just left the Seminary, was extolling, in unmeasured terms, the devotedness, fidelity, attention, and general good conduct of these very students. And since Dr. BEECHER was himself opposed to the Resolutions, we have the support of his judgment, on the spot and at the time, that they were not necessary. Whoever wishes to inquire further will find the whole struggle painted in the Defence put forth by the Trustees, and the Statement published by the students.

The letter goes on : —

"Second. It is not true that 'in ecclesiastical discussions, subsequent to this time, the weight of his heavy hand has always been felt against the Slave.' The Cincinnati Presbytery, of which he, and my husband, and the other professors were leading members, actually have taken higher Anti-Slavery ground, and used more vigorous Anti-Slavery action, than any ecclesiastical body in the United States, except the Quakers; and this was done with my father's concurrence and consent. This ground was the deposing of Mr. GRAHAM from the ministry, for defending Slavery from the Bible. This was the almost unanimous vote of the Cincinnati Presbytery, and it was confirmed by the Cincinnati Synod. Mr. GRAHAM appealed to the General Assembly, and the Assembly reversed the action, and recommended to the Presbytery to restore him. Prof. ALLEN, of Lane Seminary, who was on the floor of the Assembly at the time, told the General Assembly they might rely upon it that the Cincinnati Presbytery would never retrace their steps; and so it proved. Mr. GRAHAM was obliged to go to the Old School Church. You will observe, that an important principle was established here, which, had it been observed, would have kept the Church free from complicity with Slaveholders.

"Your remark with regard to blood is certainly true. If I have had any Anti-Slavery proclivities, I got them very early in life from my father's sermons and prayers, at the time of the discussion of the Missouri question. I shall never forget the deep feeling he showed when he heard of the admission of Missouri. It was as if he had sustained some great personal calamity.

"These facts I lay before you. You can make any use you please of them."

I joyfully accord to Dr. BEECHER all the merit which concurrence in the movement against Mr. GRAHAM deserves. How low must the general Church have fallen, when we are glad to confess that the stand made by that Presbytery was a noble one, and does them great honor; while it was only to forbid a clergyman to defend Slavery from the Bible! If, however, he is to be praised for "concurring" in the good deed of that Presbytery, of which he was but a simple member, surely, he is still more to be held accountable for the evil decree of the Trustees of Lane Seminary, to which he not only gave, in public, his "concurrence," but, as President of the Faculty, carried it into execution. If my language, as quoted, is too strong, I should willingly qualify it. But Dr. BEECHER has, for twenty-five years, occupied a very prominent position, and exerted a most commanding influence. During that time, there have been, in fact, but two parties on this question. The Pro-Slavery world, Church and State, is one: the Anti-Slavery body is the other. I can appeal to every laborer in the Anti-Slavery cause to say, whether, during those years, Dr. BEECHER's influence has ever been distinctly felt on the Slave's side? Whether it has not always been thrown into the scale of a Church, then and now a Pro-Slavery body? I think I do not misrepresent when I say, that his first public, explicit word in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause is yet to be uttered.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, March 4, 1853.

CORRECTIONS.

In enumerating essays on the practical working of the Slave system, I ought to have named a very full and valuable one—"Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States," prepared for the WORLD'S CONVENTION, by T. D. WELD and others, and published, at London, in 1841.

The Anti-Slavery construction of the Constitution was ably argued in 1836, two years earlier than I have dated it, in the "Anti-Slavery Magazine," by SAMUEL J. MAY; one of the very first to seek the side of Mr. GARRISON, and pledge to the Slave his life and efforts—a pledge which more than twenty years of devoted labors have nobly redeemed.

The allusion on page 28, to the Free Soil press of Ohio, should be erased, as it is incorrect. On page 12, Dr. CHANNING should be quoted as pronouncing Mr. WELD's Essay "one of the ablest pamphlets from the American press." My request to have the words "unworthy trick," struck out from the paragraph relating to Mr. MANN, page 25, reached the printer too late. I intended to say only that the disclaimer was unworthy of Mr. MANN.

On page 6, fourteenth line from the top, for *dull*, read *dumb*.

W. P.